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TRAVELS

IN

POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN,

AND

DENMARK;

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.

BY

WILLIAM COXE, A. M. F. R. S. F. A. S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES,
IN THE STRAND.

1802.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. V.

BOOK VIII.

TRAVELS IN NORWAY.

CHAP. 3. *General remarks on Norway.—History.—Geography.—Benefits of the Norway law.—Peasants.—Climate* - p. 1.

CHAP. 4. *Fredericshall.—Fortress of Fredericstein.—Observations on the death of Charles XII.—Tistedal.—Fredericsstadt.—Christiania* - - - - - - - p. 17.

CHAP. 5. *Silver-mines of Kongsberg.—Cobalt works of Fossum.—Journey into the interior parts of Norway* - p. 31.

TRAVELS IN SWEDEN.

CHAP. 6. *Entrance into Sweden.—Carlstadt.—Philipstadt.—Kioping.—Anecdotes of Scheele* - - - p. 50.

CHAP. 7. *Palace and canal of Stroemsholm.—Incidents of the journey* - - - - - - - - p. 57.

CHAP. 8. *Dalecarlia.—Memorials of Gustavus Vasa.—Oernetz.—Copper-mine of Fahlun.—Cataract of the Dahl.—Gefle.—Loefsta.—Iron-mine of Danemora* - - - p. 70.

BOOK

BOOK IX.

TRAVELS IN DENMARK.

CHAP. 1. *Paſſage of the Sound.—Entrance into Denmark.—Elſinoor.—Toll of the Sound.—Cronberg caſtle and palace.—Anecdote of queen Matilda.—Hamlet's garden.—Hiſtory of Hamlet from Saxo-Grammaticus.—Copenhagen.—Iſle of Amak* p. 84.

CHAP. 2. *Antient form of government in Denmark.—Revolution of* 1660.—*Change of the conſtitution from an elective and limited, to an hereditary and abſolute, monarchy* - p. 111.

CHAP. 3. *Remarks on the population—Finances.—Army.—Navy.—Church eſtabliſhment in Denmark* - p. 133.

CHAP. 4. *Univerſity of Copenhagen.—Royal Academy of Sciences.—Royal Society for the improvement of Northern hiſtory and languages.—Latin ſchools in the Daniſh dominions.—Reſearches into the origin and progreſs of Icelandic literature.—Flora Danica.—Oeder and Muller.—Regenfuſs on ſhells, &c. &c.* - - - - - - - - p. 145.

CHAP. 5. *Preſentation to the Prince-Royal.—Revolution in the adminiſtration effected by his Royal Highneſs* - p. 168.

CHAP. 6. *Excurſion to Hirſholm, Fredericſborg, Friedenſberg, and Fredericſwerk* - - - - - p. 178.

CHAP. 7. *Iſland of Huen.—Memoirs of Tycho Brahe* p. 189.

CHAP. 8. *Journey through the Iſle of Zealand.—Roſkild.—Cathedral.—Sepulchres, and characters of the Daniſh ſovereigns, Harald Blaatand.—Sweyn II.—Margaret.—Chriſtian I.—Saxo-Grammaticus.—Royal ſepulchres at Ringſted.—Paſſage acroſs the Great Belt.—Iſle of Funen.—Odenſee.—Tombs and characters of John and Chriſtian II.—Paſſage acroſs the Little Belt.—Journey through Sleſwic and Holſtein.—Canal of Kiel Eutin.—Lubec.—Travemunde,—General remarks on the circular ranges of ſtones frequent in Sweden and Denmark.—Genealogical tables of the kings of Denmark* - - - p. 209.

APPENDIX.

CONTENTS OF VOL. V.

APPENDIX.

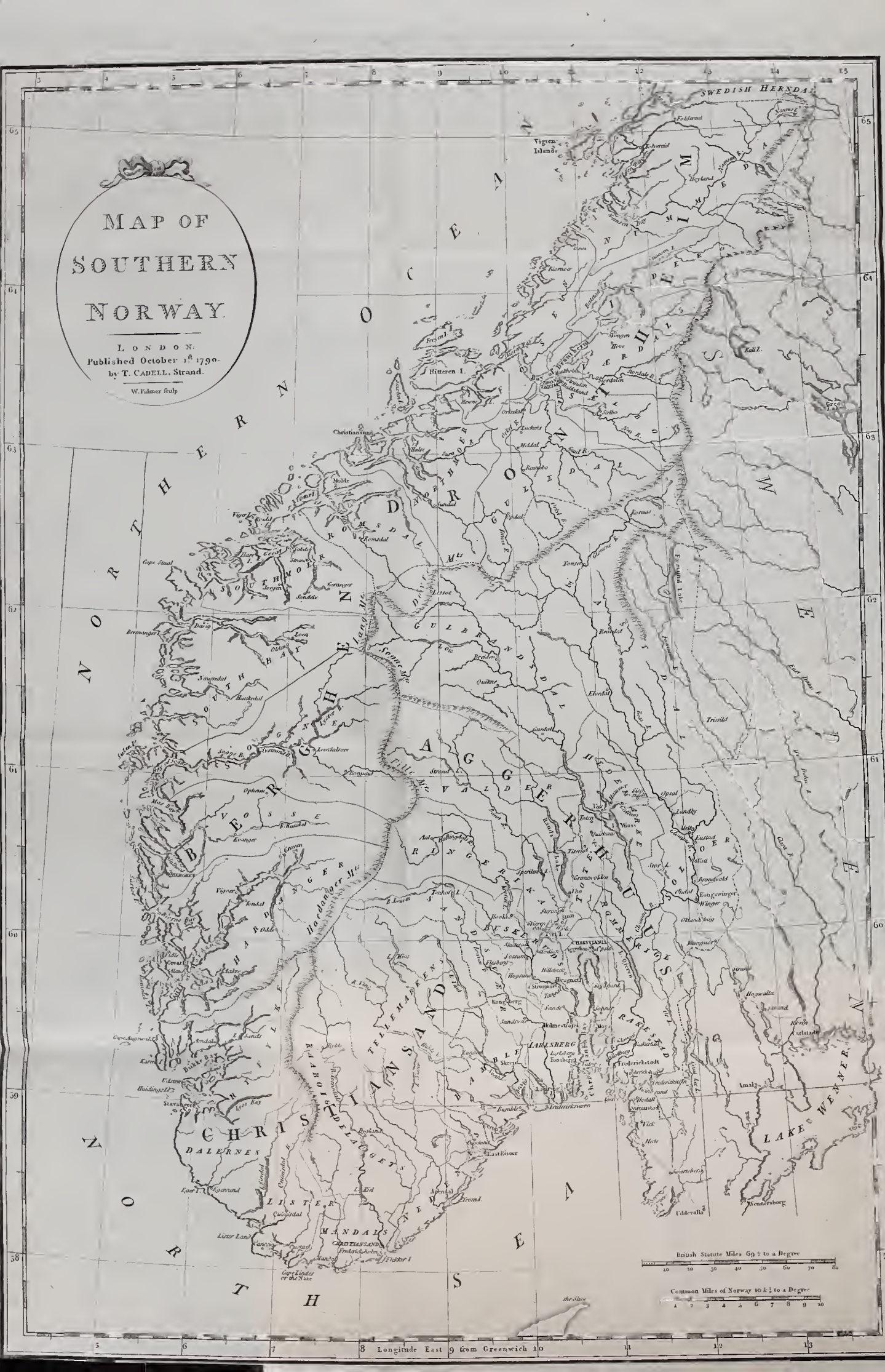
No. 1. *List of the Danish army* - - - p. 255.
No. 2. *List of the Danish navy* - - - p. 258.
No. 3. *Itinerary* - - - - - p. 260.
No. 4. *Catalogue of the principal books cited in the course of the work, with their references* - - - - p. 278.

INDEX.

List of the Plates, &c. of Vol. V.

With Directions for placing them.

Map of the Southern Norway,	*to face* p.	1
Plan of the Canal of Stroemsholm	—	59
Map of the Danish Isles, and Slesvic and Holstein	—	85
Plan of Copenhagen	—	97
Genealogical Table of the Kings of Denmark	—	211
Canal of Kiel	—	239


MAP OF
SOUTHERN
NORWAY.
LONDON:
Published October 1st 1790.
by T. CADELL, Strand.
W. Palmer Sculp
SWEDISH HERNDAL
NORTHERN OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Christiansund
Drontheim
Trondhiem
Hitteren I.
Cape Stadt
Bergen
Stavanger
Christiansand
Arendal
Fredrickshall
Fredrickstadt
Frederickshavn
Uddevalla
Wennersborg
LAKE WENER
Longitude East from Greenwich
British Statute Miles 69½ to a Degree
Common Miles of Norway 10 to a Degree

TRAVELS
IN
NORWAY.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. 3.

General remarks on Norway.—Hiſtory.—Geography.—Benefits of the Norway law.—Peaſants.—Climate.

ABOUT a day's journey from Uddevalla we arrived at the frontiers of Norway. But before I proceed in my journey, I ſhall throw together ſome general obſervations on the hiſtory, geography, climate, and productions of Norway; a country, though extremely intereſting, yet ſeldom viſited by travellers.

Norway was formerly an independent kingdom, governed by its own hereditary ſovereigns On the demiſe of Hagen the Fifth, in 1319, without male iſſue, his grandſon in the female line, Magnus Smek, united the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway. Magnus was ſucceeded

on the throne of Norway by his ſon Hagen the Sixth, huſband of the celebrated Margaret; and at his deceaſe, in 1380, Norway was united to Denmark by their ſon Olof the Fifth; who dying without iſſue, Margaret herſelf was raiſed to the throne by the unanimous ſuffrages of the nation. On her death it deſcended, with Denmark and Sweden, to her nephew, Eric of Pomerania. Sweden was afterwards ſeparated from Denmark by the valour and addreſs of Guſtavus Vaſa; but Norway has continued united to the crown of Denmark.

Norway is formed by nature into two great diviſions, Northern, and Southern or Norway Proper, ſeparated from each other by the ſmall Swediſh province of Herndahl.

Northern Norway is a long and narrow ſlip of land, extending as far as North Cape, beyond the ſeventy-firſt degree of latitude, the moſt northern point of Europe; it is divided into Nordland and Finnmark, and comprehended in the government of Drontheim.

Southern, or Norway Proper, of which a map is prefixed to this chapter, is bounded to the north and eaſt by Sweden, and to the weſt and ſouth by the northern ocean. It is divided into four governments, Aggerhuus or Chriſtiania, Chriſtianſand, Berghen, and Drontheim.

Although Norway comprehends a large tract

of

of territory, yet from its rocky ſoil and climate the number of inhabitants is by no means proportionate to the extent of the country. Perhaps the following tables, giving the number of births and deaths during ſeven years, may aſſiſt in forming a probable ſtatement of the population:

		Births.		Deaths.
1777	—	23,331	—	15,655
1778	—	23,487	—	15,222
1779	—	23,862	—	20,768
1780	—	24,711	—	18,523
1781	—	24,153	—	16,072
1782	—	23,944	—	17,503
1783	—	21,554	—	19,357
Sum total		165,042		123,100

By dividing 165,042, the ſum total of births, during the ſeven years, by ſeven, we have 23,577 for the annual average of births; and by dividing 123,100, the ſum total of deaths, by the ſame number, we have 17,585 for the annual average of deaths. If, on a ſuppoſition that in the whole kingdom one in 35 dies annually, we multiply 17,585, the annual number of deaths, by 35, we have 615,475 for the population of Norway. Or, if we multiply 23,577, the annual number of births, by 30, the uſual mode* of calculation, we have 707,310; and by al-

* See Dr. Price on Annuities.

lowing for omiſſions, we cannot eſtimate the probable population of all Norway at more than 750,000 ſouls.

The Norwegians, being the ſame race with the Danes, and long connected with them in religion and government, ſpeak the ſame language, though with a mixture of provincial expreſſions. According to Wilſe *, a native writer, the gentry and inhabitants of the principal towns, allowing for a few provincial expreſſions, ſpeak purer Daniſh than is uſual even in Denmark, not excepting Copenhagen; the inhabitants of the eaſtern confines bordering on Sweden naturally blend many Swediſh words; throughout the whole country the general accent and cadence is more analogous to the Swediſh † than to the Dutch pronunciation, and the inhabitants on the weſtern coaſts, who have a more conſtant communication with the Danes, partake leſs of this peculiarity.

The Norwegians maintain their own army, which conſiſts of 24,000 infantry, and 6,000 cavalry. The troops are much eſteemed for bravery, and, like the Swiſs mountaineers, exceedingly attached to their country. The

* Wilſe's Reiſe, p. 28.

† The Swediſh and Daniſh languages are both dialects of the Teutonic or German, and are both ſpoken in a ſinging or chanting tone. The Swedes have a more varied and lively pronunciation.

horſes

horſes which ſupply the cavalry are ſmall, but ſtrong, active, and hardy.

Every peaſant (thoſe excepted who inhabit the coaſts, and are claſſed as ſailors) not born in a town, or on ſome noble eſtate, is by birth a ſoldier, and enrolled at the age of ſixteen. From that year, until he has attained the age of 26, he is claſſed in the young militia; at 26 he enters into the old militia, and continues to ſerve till 36, at which period he receives his diſcharge. The militia take the field every year in June, and remain encamped about a month.

Norway is bleſſed with a particular code, called the *Norway Law*, compiled by Grieffelfeld, at the command of Chriſtian the Fifth, the great legiſlator of his country. By this law, the palladium of Norway, the peaſants are free, a few only excepted on certain noble eſtates near Frederickſtadt. But the ſpirit of this law extends itſelf even to thoſe ſerfs; for no proprietor can have more than one of theſe privileged eſtates, and unleſs he poſſeſſes a title or certain rank, and reſides on his eſtate, he loſes his privilege, and the peaſants become free.

The benefits of the Norway Code are ſo viſible in its general effects on the happineſs and in the appearance of the peaſants, that a traveller muſt be blind who does not inſtantly perceive the difference between the free peaſants of Nor-

way and the enſlaved vaſſals* of Denmark, though both living under the ſame government.

Many of the peaſants derive their lineage from the antient nobles, and ſome even from the royal line: they greatly pride themſelves on this ſuppoſed deſcent, and are careful not to give their children in marriage but to their equals in birth and blood.

A curious cuſtom prevails in Norway, called *odels right*, or right of inheritance, by which the proprietor of freeholds may re-purchaſe an eſtate, which either he or any of his anceſtors have ſold, provided he can prove the title of his family. In order to enforce this right, his anceſtors, and he, muſt have declared every tenth year, at the ſeſſions, that they lay claim to the eſtate, but are unable to redeem it; and whenever he, or his heirs, acquire a ſufficient ſum, then the poſſeſſor muſt, on receiving the money, relinquiſh the eſtate to the *odels-man*. For this reaſon, the peaſants who are freeholders keep a ſtrict account of their pedigree. This cuſtom is attended with advantages and diſadvantages. It fixes the affections of the peaſant on his native place, and he improves with pleaſure thoſe poſſeſſions, which are ſo ſtrongly ſecured to him, while it increaſes the conſequence

* This remark was made before the emancipation of the Daniſh peaſants.

and

and excites the induſtry of his family. On the contrary, the eſtate loſes its value when ſold to another perſon, becauſe, as the purchaſer poſſeſſes only a precarious tenure, he is not diſpoſed to improve the lands, as if he poſſeſſed the freehold.

The Norwegian peaſants poſſeſs much ſpirit and fire in their manner, are frank and undaunted, yet not inſolent; never fawning on their ſuperiors, yet paying proper reſpect to thoſe above them. Their principal mode of ſalute is by offering their hand; and when we gave or paid them a trifle,, inſtead of returning thanks by words or by a bow, they ſhook our hands with great frankneſs and cordiality.

The peaſants are well clothed and well lodged, and appear to poſſeſs more comforts and conveniences than any which I have ſeen in the courſe of my travels, excepting in ſome parts of Switzerland. They weave their ordinary cloth and linen, and they make alſo a kind of ſtuff like a Scotch plaid. The coats of the men are principally made of a ſtone-coloured cloth, and ornamented with red button-holes, and white metal buttons. The women, while employed in their houſehold affairs, frequently, as in Sweden, appear only in a petticoat and ſhift, with a collar reaching to the throat, and a black ſaſh tied round the waiſt. Their linen is remarkably fine, and as they are uſually well made,

this mode of dreſs diſplays their figure to the higheſt advantage.

The common food of the peaſant is milk, cheeſe, dried or ſalted fiſh, and ſometimes, but rarely, fleſh or dried meat, oatbread called *ſlad-brod*, baked in ſmall cakes about the ſize and thickneſs of a pancake, which is uſually made twice a year. I obſerved a woman employed in preparing it: having placed over the fire a round iron plate, ſhe took a handful of dough, and rolled it out with a rolling-pin to the ſize of the plate; ſhe then placed it on the plate, and baked it on one ſide, then turned it with a ſmall ſtick. In this manner ſhe prepared a great number in leſs than a quarter of an hour, and I was informed that a woman, in a ſingle day, can bake ſufficient for the family during a whole year. In times of ſcarcity, they alſo uſe the bark of trees, generally of the fir; this bark is dried before the fire, ground to powder, mixed with oatmeal, baked, and eat like bread; it is bitteriſh, and affords but little nouriſhment. As a luxury, the peaſants eat *ſharke* or thin *ſlices* of meat, ſprinkled with ſalt, and dried in the wind, like hung beef; alſo a ſoup made like a haſty-pudding of oatmeal or barley-meal, which is rendered palatable, by adding a pickled herring or ſalted mackerel. The uſe of potatoes has been lately introduced;

introduced; but thoſe roots do not grow to any ſize in a country where the ſummer is ſo ſhort.

Fabricius ſtrongly recommends, in times of ſcarcity, the moſſes and lichens, and particularly the *lichen iſlandicus*, which yields a nouriſhing ſuſtenance, and is commonly uſed for food in Iceland.

According to a ſeries of meteorological obſervations by Mr. Wilſe, paſtor of Sydeborg, near Frederickſhall, it ſnows moſt in December and the middle of January, rains moſt in April, Auguſt, and October. The cleareſt weather is from the middle of June to the middle of July, and during the whole month of March. Winds are moſt violent in the middle and latter end of April, May, and October. The ſtilleſt ſeaſon is in January; from the tenth of June to the eleventh of July, and in the middle of Auguſt, a circumſtance very favourable to the oat harveſt, which of all corn is more liable to caſt its ripe grain in windy weather. If we compare the climate of Norway with the climate of London, March at London is like April and the beginning of May in Norway, and the March of Norway is our January. On account of the frequent ſpring froſts, ſeeds ought not to be ſown in gardens before the twentieth of May, and the froſts of the latter end of Auguſt are no leſs detrimental.

The heat and cold varies ſo much in Norway, that in June or July, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer,

thermometer, as obſerved by Mr. Wilſe at Sydeborg, not unuſually riſes to 88, and on the firſt of January 1782, fell to—22, or 54 degrees below the freezing point. At Eger according to profeſſor Stroem's obſervations, it fell on the ſame day to—36½; and at Kongſberg to—40, or 72 below freezing point, a degree of cold by which quickſilver is congealed. This extreme riſe and fall of the quickſilver makes a difference of 110 degrees between the greateſt heat and greateſt cold at the ſame place; a difference much more conſiderable than is obſerved at Upſala or Stockholm, which lie nearly in the ſame latitude as Sydeborg.

In ſome places vegetation is ſo quick, that corn is ſown and cut in ſix or ſeven weeks. Tillage cannot generally be flouriſhing in a country, which is in many parts ſo rocky as to defy the plough; where the climate is ſo ſevere that the hoar-froſts begin in September, and where the cold in the highlands prevents the maturity of the corn. The ſmall vallies, and the intervals between the rocks, are uſually provided with a fruitful ſoil, and the induſtry of the peaſants covers the naked rocks and ſandy grounds with a new earth; yet the arable grounds are few, and no parts of Norway yield ſufficient corn for interior conſumption, except the diſtricts of Hedemark, Toten, and Ringerike.

This deficiency is occaſioned by the nature of the

the climate and ſoil. In ſpring, and in the firſt ſummer months, the drought and heat are frequently ſo intolerable, and the vegetable mould ſo thin, that the roots of the corn and graſs are burned up, if a few days of ſunſhine ſucceed each other without rain. The greater part of the ſoil is alſo ſo much blended with ſand, that too much rain cannot fall in ſpring and ſummer. In autumn, on the contrary, the decreaſed warmth, and great quantity of rain, prevents the corn from ripening, and not unuſually, even in favourable ſeaſons it is almoſt ſpoiled by the violent autumnal rains. Alſo the ſmall quantity of arable land ſeldom lies fallow, but is ſowed every year, and therefore requires more manure than can be uſually procured.

All theſe circumſtances counteract the induſtry of the farmers; even in the moſt favourable ſeaſons, a conſiderable importation of corn is annually neceſſary; but in unfavourable harveſts the utmoſt dearth is experienced in the inland parts, as the tranſport of the corn from the ſea coaſts is highly expenſive.

In order to dry the corn expoſed to the heavy rains, the peaſants fix in the ground forked poles ten feet high, place rows of other poles tranſverſely, on which they file the ſheaves, the lowermoſt row hanging about two feet from the ground. They are alſo frequently obliged to

bake

bake the corn in wooden ſheds, heated by means of ſtoves.

As Norway, therefore, does not produce ſufficient corn for its own conſumption, Denmark enjoys the excluſive priviiege of ſupplying with grain that part called Sudenfields, comprehending the two governments of Aggerhuus and Chriſtianſand. This monopoly frequently occaſions a ſcarcity; but though ſometimes attended with great inconveniences and occaſional diſtreſs, yet will not be aboliſhed without great difficulty, becauſe the Daniſh nobles, who are at the head of affairs, find their intereſt in its continuance.

But Norway, however deficient in arable land, is exceedingly rich in paſture, and abounds in cattle. The mode of keeping cows is ſimilar to that practiſed in the mountains of Switzerland. About the middle of May they are turned into meadows; towards the middle of June driven to the heights, or into the foreſts, where they continue till autumn. The cows are uſually tended by a woman, who inhabits a ſmall hut, milks them twice a day, and makes butter and cheeſe on the ſpot. On their return the cattle are paſtured in the meadows, until the ſnow ſets in about the middle of October, when they are removed to the ſtables, and fed during winter with four-fifths of ſtraw, and one-fifth of hay. The horſes are uſually foddered with hay during winter,

winter, and are ſeldom ſent to graſs before the beginning of June. In ſome places the cattle are fed with ſalted fiſh.

Agriculture has been of late greatly meliorated, and the landed eſtates are increaſed within theſe laſt fifty years near one third in value, a circumſtance principally owing to the labours and encouragement of the patriotic ſociety, which gives premiums for the beſt improvements and inſtructions in every part of farming.

The fiſheries, particularly on the weſtern coaſt, furniſh employment and wealth to the natives, and are the means of ſupplying the beſt ſeamen for manning the Daniſh fleet in times of war. The principal fiſh, which, dried and ſalted, furniſh ſo conſiderable an article of exportation, are the cod, the ling, and the whiting: the livers, beſides, yield train oil, and the ſmalleſt fiſh are given as winter fodder to the cattle.

The herring fiſhery is not ſo profitable as formerly, as the ſhoals, which uſed to frequent the coaſts of Norway, in their progreſs from the North Pole, now keep at a greater diſtance from theſe ſhores, and firſt approach the rocks of Marſtrand and Stroemſtrand, which has transferred to the Swedes the principal herring fiſhery in theſe parts, though ſtill ſufficient profit accrues to thoſe enterpriſing fiſhermen who venture further from the coaſts. Salmon are taken partly

in

in the bays, and partly in the rivers, as they aſcend the ſtream in ſpring for the purpoſe of ſpawning, and are cured by ſalting and ſmoking. Mackerel might alſo be caught in much larger quantities; but many of the Norwegians are prejudiced againſt them, from a ſtrange notion, that ſhoals of mackerel often attack and devour the human ſpecies, when bathing in the ſea.

The extenſive foreſts of Norway, which furniſh ſuch riches to the proprietors, and ſo much employment to the natives, are applied to ſeveral purpoſes: 1. For ſpars, beams, and planks, which are exported in large quantities. 2. For charcoal, required for ſmelting ores, for the glaſs furnaces, and other manufactures. The wood uſed for this purpoſe is uſually of an inferior ſort, and chiefly in the inland parts, where the tranſport of planks is too expenſive. 3. For building, the greater part of the houſes in Norway being conſtructed of wood; for although there is plenty of ſtone, yet the tranſport of the materials, and lime, are too expenſive for common uſe. 4. For the roads, which, in the more northern parts, are almoſt entirely formed with wood. 5. For turpentine, for which the oldeſt trees are moſtly uſed. 6. For fencing and encloſing the fields, quickſet hedges being almoſt unknown. The wood uſed for encloſures is chiefly pine or fir, and muſt be renewed every

three

three or four years. 7. For fuel. 8. For manure, by the ſame proceſs of burning trees and manuring the ſoil with the aſhes, which is practiſed in Sweden, and is ſo deſtructive to the foreſts.

Beſides theſe general uſes, particular trees are beneficially employed for various purpoſes. The bark of the pine or fir, and alſo of the elm, which is not common in Norway, is dried, ground, and mixed with meal, and is boiled up with other food for ſwine, who thrive much upon it. The birch, which flouriſhes in theſe northern regions, is no leſs ſerviceable. It is more generally uſed for fuel than any other wood. The outer bark, or the white rind, on account of its firmneſs and ſap, eaſily eſcapes putrefaction even in the dampeſt places, and for this reaſon is employed for covering the roofs of the houſes. This mode of roofing occaſions ſuch a large conſumption of the outward bark, that the birch which are felled would not ſupply a ſufficient quantity; it is, therefore, not unuſual to ſtrip off the outward bark while the tree is ſtanding, and if peeled with care, it always grows again. The inner bark of the birch is applied like the bark of oak for tanning hides, fiſhing nets, and ſails, which it renders more durable. This tree alſo ſupplies a kind of wine; a hole is bored in the trunk, and the liquor diſtils

into

into a flaſk placed underneath. The tree ſuffers little damage, if the hole is immediately cloſed by a wooden peg. The twigs of the birch, as well as the elder and aſpen, are given to horſes in ſcarcity of fodder. A decoction of oak leaves in beer is uſed by the peaſants as a fomentation for the rheumatiſm.

The general exports are tallow, butter, ſalt, dried fiſh, timber and planks, horſes and horned cattle, ſilver, alum, Pruſſian blue, copper, of which the celebrated mine of Roras yields annually to the value of £. 67,500; and iron, of which the moſt productive mine is near Arendal.

Norway abounds in lakes and rivers, more than any country I ever viſited excepting Switzerland. It is remarkable for the number and beauty of the bays fringed with wood. Many of the lakes are ſo large, that they appear like inlets of the ſea, and the bays ſo ſmall, that they appear like lakes; but I am anticipating my journal.

CHAP. 4.

Fredericſhall.—Fortreſs of Fredericsſtein.—Obſervations on the Death of Charles the Twelfth.—Tiſtedal.—Fredericsſtadt.—Chriſtiania.

SEPTEMBER 4. Norway is ſeparated from Sweden by the bay of Swineſund, which in this part forms a ſtrait between the perpendicular rocks, ſo narrow as to bear the appearance of a river, yet ſo deep as to admit ſhips of the greateſt burden. On the Swediſh ſide our paſsports were examined by a cuſtom-houſe officer; and on the oppoſite ſhore, our baggage was ſlightly inſpected by a Daniſh officer, who dwells in a comfortable houſe overhanging the edge of the water.

In a few miles we reached Fredericſhall, the frontier town of Norway, ſtanding on the extremity of the Swineſund, at the mouth of the river Tiſte. The principal commerce of the town conſiſts in the exportation of planks to England. The wood is floated down the Tiſte ſometimes above 100 Engliſh miles, from the interior parts of the country, and ſawed here; for which purpoſe thirty-ſix ſaw-mills are erected

on the banks of the river, which forms a ſeries of cataracts.

The harbour is ſafe and commodious; but the large quantity of ſaw-duſt from the different ſaw-mills choaks the river up in many parts, and occaſions an annual expence for clearing. The port poſſeſſes a few immunities; goods landed for exportation pay no duty, unleſs opened for home conſumption, and then are charged with the uſual impoſts.

The town contains 3,000 inhabitants; the ſtreets are airy; the houſes are built of wood painted red, and a few white.

On the ſummit of an almoſt perpendicular rock, which overhangs the town, ſtands the ſtrong and hitherto impregnable fortreſs of Fredericsſtein, rendered memorable by the death of the northern lion, as Charles the Twelfth is ſometimes emphatically ſtyled. The ſpot where he was killed, which was once marked by a pillar erected by the king of Denmark, but pulled down at the requeſt of the king of Sweden, is at the extremity of the governor's garden, at the bottom of the ſteep rock, on which ſtands the fort of Gullenlowe. It was to me particularly intereſting; for it convinced me that a ſmall ball might have reached Charles, the diſtance from the neareſt baſtion being not more than five or ſix hundred yards.

Nor

Nor could I avoid remarking, that Motraye's plan of Fredericsſtein and the adjacent batteries is in many parts extremely defective; and from the beſt information that I have collected, both his and Voltaire's account of the king's death, and particularly of the wound which occaſioned it, are very inaccurate.

But in order to obtain farther and more complete information concerning the probable cauſe of the death of Charles, I called on Benk Enkelſon of Tiſtedal, a Norwegian, aged ninety-five, who was in his twenty-eighth year when he ſerved as a gunner of the Daniſh garriſon during the ſiege of Fredericsſtein. By means of a gentleman of Fredericſhall, who politely accompanied me to this old man's houſe, and condeſcended to be my interpreter, I procured the following intelligence; which I ſhall give to the reader, in queſtion and anſwer, as I obtained it.

Do you think, that the king was ſhot from the ramparts, or aſſaſſinated by any of his own troops? *From the ramparts undoubtedly.*—What kind of ſhot was fired againſt the Swediſh trenches? *All ſorts, and particularly ſmall ſhot in cartouches from cannon.*—Could the king, in the place where he was, be reached by a ſmall ſhot? *Yes, very eaſily; as a ſmall ſhot could take effect at twice the diſtance.*—Were many ſoldiers killed near him? *Very many;*

they fell about him like ſtraw, in ſuch numbers that they were buried on the ſpot. The place was alſo ſo much expoſed to the fire from the ramparts, that the Swedes could not venture to work at the trenches by day, but only by night. —From what fortreſs do you think Charles received his death; from Oberberg, or from the citadel? *Certainly from the batteries of the citadel, which bore upon the place, and not from Oberberg, from which it was defended by an intervening hill. I then ſerved in the fortreſs of Oberberg; and we did not that night fire a ſingle ſhot from thence* *.

From this circumſtantial evidence, given by a perſon who ſerved in the garriſon of Fredericsſtein at the time of the ſiege, and who had no prejudices or intereſt to bias or miſlead him, joined to my own obſervations on the ſpot, I am convinced that Charles might have been eaſily reached by a ſmall ball from the ramparts of the citadel; and that the confident aſſertions of thoſe perſons who pretend that he could not be touched by a muſket-ball, are totally groundleſs.

The queſtion, therefore, in regard to the death of Charles, is now reduced to a ſhort compaſs; and all the vague anecdotes and uncertain conjectures, which, without any foundation, attri-

* This ſhews the falſity of Motraye's account, which ſays, that the king was ſhot from the fortreſs of Oberburgh.

bute

bute his death to aſſaſſination, can weigh nothing againſt poſitive fact *.

Elkenſon deſcribed Charles as tall and thin; his hair ſhort, thick, and curling, with an animated countenance. He ſhewed us a wooden chair, in which Charles was ſitting when he was ſhot. The old man recollected to have ſeen the king three times, once in particular in Fredericſhall. Sitting at the window of a houſe inhabited by one of the magiſtrates, he obſerved Charles in the oppoſite houſe. While the batteries from the citadel were firing heavily at the enemy's trenches, a young woman, who was looking at the king from one of the windows of the magiſtrate's houſe, chanced to drop a ring into the ſtreet. Charles taking notice of her, ſaid, "Madam, do the guns of this place always make ſuch an uproar?" "Never," returned the girl, "but when we are honoured with ſuch illuſtrious viſitors as your majeſty." The king was much pleaſed with the anſwer, and ordered one of his ſoldiers to take up the ring and return it.

The village of Tiſtedal is ſituated three miles from Fredericſhall, on a beautiful cataract of the Tiſte, which precipitates itſelf in continued but irregular falls, and turns ſeveral ſaw-mills

* See Book 7, Chapter 3.

that form picturesque objects, as they impend over the torrent. Above the village is a villa called Vake, from which we commanded a delightful prospect. Towards the inland parts, a small lake beautifully fringed with pasture and wood; below, the Tiste forming a series of cataracts, then winding through a small valley and between two ridges of rocks, shaded with pines and underwood; the bay of the sea sprinkled with rocky islands; the town of Fredericshall and its castle towering on the summit of a perpendicular rock closing the view.

Fredericsstadt, distant from Fredericshall four Norwegian, or nearly twenty-six English miles, stands on the river Glomme, is the most regular fortress in this part of Norway, and contains an arsenal amply supplied with arms for the militia, in case of a rupture with Sweden. It was built in 1567, by Frederic the Second, strengthened by Frederic the Third, and since gradually enlarged and fortified according to the modern system. The ramparts inclose a circumference of three quarters of a mile, and the population of the town, including the two suburbs, amounts to no more than 800 souls. A few years ago, the town was consumed by fire, and the houses are mostly new. Close to Fredericsstadt is the new fortress of Kongsteen, on a rocky eminence, capable of containing a garrison of 300

men; ſeveral convicts are here condemned to hard labour. The greateſt offenders have an iron cap, chains round their arms, legs, and bodies; the chains round their arms are rivetted to a wheel-barrow, which is never looſened. The inhabitants export planks, and a few ſmall maſts. The principal commerce is carried on by Meſſrs. Ankers and Holt, of Chriſtiania.

The Glomme is the largeſt river in this part of Norway, but not navigable in any part of its courſe from the lake Mioſs to Fredericsſtadt, the ſtream being interrupted by ſuch frequent cataracts and ſhoals as in ſome places render it neceſſary to drag the trees, which are floated down, over the ground. At leaſt 50,000 trees are annually floated to Fredericsſtadt.

September 6. We ferried over the Glomme at the gates of the town, and continued our journey, anxious to reach Chriſtiania. The country is in general extremely fertile and agreeable, riſes in gentle hills, and though rocky in many parts, is covered with a rich ſoil, producing abundance of corn, and clothed with foreſts of firs and pines, intermixed with oak, beech, poplar, and mountain aſh. The face of the country is prettily ſprinkled with numerous lakes and rivulets, and thickly dotted with cottages, rudely though not unpleaſantly ſituated on rocky eminences in the midſt of the foreſt. Theſe cot-

tages are moſtly covered with red tiles, and appeared larger and more commodious than thoſe we had juſt quitted in Sweden. They were ſo ſcattered over the hills, that we ſeldom obſerved a cluſter of more than four or five; the churches ſtanding almoſt ſingly, their ſpires riſing above the ſurrounding trees, were pictureſque objects.

We ſtopped a ſhort time at Moſs, to examine the iron-works belonging to Mr. Bernard Anker, of Chriſtiania. The ſituation of Moſs is exceedingly romantic; it is divided by a lively torrent, daſhing over a craggy bed, and ſtands on the ſhore of a beautiful bay, the riſing banks adorned with fine hanging woods, a few villas, and numerous farm houſes. The iron works, which principally ſupport the place, were eſtabliſhed in 1705; for ſome time the proprietors only manufactured bar iron, grates, ſtoves, and iron utenſils; but lately they have caſt cannon, which are moſtly exported to Copenhagen. The works employ about 150 men.

We paſſed the night at Skydjord, a ſmall village in a moſt delightful ſituation, where we found an inn with comfortable accommodations, and two very neat bed-chambers. As we approached Chriſtiania, the country was more wild and hilly, but ſtill fertile and agreeable; and at the diſtance of two miles from the town, we enjoyed, from the top of a mountain, as fine a view as I

ever

ever beheld. The grounds, laid out in rich inclo-ſures, gradually ſloped to the ſea; below appeared Chriſtiania, ſituated at the extremity of an extenſive and fertile valley, forming a ſemicircular bend along the ſhore of a beautiful bay, which being incloſed by hills, uplands, and foreſts, had the appearance of a large lake. Behind, before, and around, the inland mountains of Norway roſe on hills covered with dark foreſts of pines and fir, the inexhauſtible riches of the north; the moſt diſtant ſummits were capped with eternal ſnow. From the glow of the atmoſphere, the warmth of the weather, the variety of the productions, and the mild beauties of the adjacent ſcenery, I could ſcarcely believe that I was nearly in the 60th degree of northern latitude. We at length forced ourſelves from this enchanting ſpot, enjoying, as we gradually deſcended, the ſcenes before us, and at mid-day reached Chriſtiania.

Chriſtiania is 30 Engliſh miles from the open ſea; the navigation of the bay is ſomewhat difficult, but it is ſufficiently deep for the largeſt veſſels, having ſix or ſeven fathom water cloſe to the quay.

Chriſtiania is eſteemed the capital of Norway, becauſe it contains the ſupreme court of juſtice. It lies in latitude 59 ° 6′ 37 ″, and ſtands in a ſemicircular form on the northern extremity of the bay of Biorning, an inlet of the ſea, forming the northern

northern extremity of the gulf of Chriſtiania, whoſe rocky ſhores are overſpread with thick foreſts. The town is divided into, 1. The city, and the three ſuburbs of Waterlandt, Peterwigen, and Fierdingen; 2. The fortreſs of Aggerhuus; and 3. The old town of Opſloe or Anſloe. The city contains 418 houſes, the ſuburbs 682, Opſloe 400, including the epiſcopal palace*; and the number of inhabitants amount to about 9,000. The city formerly occupied the ſite of Opſloe, and was rebuilt in its preſent ſituation by Chriſtian the Fourth, after a plan deſigned by himſelf; the ſtreets are carried in ſtraight lines, and at right angles to each other, are uniformly forty feet broad, and very neat and clean.

The Latin ſchool, endowed in 1635 by Chriſtian the Fourth, is governed by a rector or upper maſter, a corrector or under maſter, and three aſſiſtants; but contained, in 1784, only thirty-ſeven ſcholars. They are divided into ſix claſſes, and inſtructed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. A collection of 6,000 volumes, lately left to the town by Mr. Deichman, a native, will ſerve to form the beginning of a public library.

The caſtle of Aggerhuus, built on a rocky eminence on the weſt ſide of the bay, at a ſmall

* The biſhop of Chriſtiania is Metropolitan of Norway.

diſtance

diſtance from the city, is a very ancient fortreſs, and was beſieged, in 1310, by the Swedes, according to an inſcription over the door of a brick tower. It was ſtrengthened in 1633 by Chriſtian the Fourth; and ſeveral other dates and inſcriptions ſhewed, that additional fortifications had been made by the ſucceeding kings of Denmark. This fortreſs is ſmall but ſtrong; in peace the garriſon conſiſts of 500 troops, but in war is augmented to 1000. Aggerhuus ſuſtained a ſiege in 1717, from Charles the Twelfth, in perſon, who occupied the city and ſuburbs, but was compelled, for want of proviſion, to retire. The walls of many houſes in Chriſtiania ſtill bear marks of the balls ſhot from the batteries againſt Charles, as he rode daily through the ſtreets with his uſual raſhneſs, to reconnoitre the ſtate of the fortreſs.

The governor of Aggerhuus is the chief governor of Norway. He preſides in the high court of juſtice, called *Overhoflet*, which judges, in the laſt reſort, civil cauſes below a certain value. In all cauſes ſurpaſſing that value, an appeal lies to the ſupreme court at Copenhagen.

Chriſtiania has an excellent harbour, and carries on a conſiderable trade. The principal exports are tar, ſoap, iron, copper, planks, and deals; allum manufactured at Mr. Cooper's works for about £. 3,000; iron from the four

works

works of Borum, Edſwold, Narkedahl, and Ondahlen, £.14,000; copper from Foldahl, £. 10,000; planks and deals £. 90,000, principally to England.

The planks and deals are of ſuperior eſtimation to thoſe ſent from America, Ruſſia, and from the different parts of the Baltic, becauſe the trees grow on the rocks, and are therefore firmer, more compact, and leſs liable to rot than the others, which chiefly ſhoot from a ſandy or loamy ſoil. The planks are either red or white fir or pine. The red wood is produced from the Scotch fir, and the white wood, which is in ſuch high eſtimation, from the ſpruce fir. This wood is the moſt demanded, becauſe no country produces it in ſuch quantities as this part of Norway. Each tree yields three pieces of timber, eleven or twelve feet in length, and is uſually ſawed into three planks; a tree generally requires ſeventy or eighty years growth before it arrives at the greateſt perfection.

The environs of Chriſtiania not yielding ſufficient planks for exportation, the greater part of the timber is hewn in the inland country, and floated down the rivers and cataracts. Sawmills are uſed for the purpoſe of cutting the planks, but muſt be privileged, and can only cut a certain quantity. The proprietors are bound to declare on oath, that they have not exceeded

that

that quantity; and if they do, the privilege is taken away, and the ſaw-mill deſtroyed. There are 136 privileged ſaw-mills at Chriſtiania, of which 100 belong to the family of Anker. The quantity of planks permitted to be cut, amounts to 20,000,000 ſtandard deals, twelve feet long, and one inch and a quarter thick.

During our ſtay at Chriſtiania we received great civilities from the Ankers, the richeſt and moſt commercial family in Norway. Mr. Bernard Anker, who is Fellow of the Royal Society, ſpeaks Engliſh nearly as well as a native, poſſeſſes an excellent houſe in Chriſtiania, elegantly furniſhed in the Engliſh taſte, and ornamented with a good collection of pictures, which he purchaſed in Italy. He lives in a ſtyle of magnificence, and receives all travellers with unbounded hoſpitality. He has an excellent library, a good apparatus of natural philoſophy from England, and a curious collection of the minerals and marbles of Norway.

We accompanied Mr. Anker to Vickery, a neat villa belonging to his family, four miles from Chriſtiania, which ſtands pleaſantly on the bay, and commands many pictureſque views. The planks are ſhipped cloſe to the houſe. From thence Mr. Peter Anker drove in a low phaeton drawn by two active Norwegian ponies to Bockſtadt, a country houſe which he has juſt built on the

the banks of a ſmall but beautiful lake, four miles from Vickery, in the midſt of an endleſs foreſt, and ſurrounded by mountains. He ſhewed us his grounds, which are laid out pleaſantly, and carried us into his kitchen-garden, which produces all kinds of vegetables, excellent cherries, pears, apples, apricots, currants, gooſeberries, and in a favourable ſeaſon tolerable peaches. He pointed out a ſmall plantation of the principal trees which are indigenous in Norway. I remarked the plane, aſpin, aſh, mountain aſh, oak, elm, beech, birch, alder, willows, and various ſpecies of pines and firs, which form the riches of theſe parts.

Mr. Peter Anker has lately introduced various ſpecies of Engliſh huſbandry, particularly he has ſown crops of clover, which ſucceed well, and has lately cultivated turnips.

CHAP. 5.

Silver Mines of Kongſberg.—Cobalt Works of Foſſum.—Journey into the interior Parts of Norway.

SEPTEMBER 10. We quitted Chriſtiania with much regret, after having expreſſed our acknowledgment to Mr. Bernard Anker for his extreme politeneſs and hoſpitality. He alſo increaſed our obligations by ſketching out a tour through the inland parts of Norway, and by giving us a circular letter, which we found a paſſport of introduction, and a means of procuring accommodations and information.

A little beyond Giellebeck, the ſecond poſt-houſe from Chriſtiania, we paſſed, near the high road, a quarry of whitiſh grey marble, which was opened to ſupply the ſtones for the new church at Copenhagen, but is no longer worked. In the middle of the quarry ſtands a marble column erected in honour of the late king Frederic the Fifth, who viſited this ſpot. The houſes, and even cottages, in the neighbouring villages, are ornamented with ſtaircaſes of this beautiful marble.

From this quarry we aſcended through foreſts of pines and firs to the ſummit called Paradiſberg,

or

or the Mountain of Paradiſe, ſo denominated from the fine proſpect, but which, in my opinion, was inferior to that we enjoyed from the eminence overhanging Chriſtiania. The general features of this proſpect are views of diſtant mountains riſing above mountains; rich and extenſive foreſts, and below a fertile valley watered by the Dramme, with the three towns of Brægnetz, Stromſoe, and Tanger, ſtanding at ſmall diſtances from each other at the bottom of ſome rugged rocks, and on the margin of a bay.

Theſe three towns are known by the general name of Dramme, becauſe they are ſituated on that river. Each has its own church and ſeparate juriſdiction. The inhabitants are induſtrious, and carry on a conſiderable trade. The principal exports are timber and planks; the imports, chiefly corn, and lead from England for ſmelting the ſilver ore at Kongſberg.

We changed horſes at Brægnetz, which lies on the ſide of the river oppoſite to Stromſoe and Tanger, and continued our route, coaſting the Dramme, through a delightful valley extremely rich in corn and paſture, ſo thickly peopled, that every fifty yards we obſerved a cottage, and for ſeveral miles together ſeemed to paſs through a continued village. The ſloping declivities which bound this vale are ſo thickly covered with trees, that at ſome diſtance they appeared

appeared as if clad with herbage. The inhabitants of this pleaſant diſtrict chiefly derive their ſuſtenance from the tranſport of corn and merchandize to Kongſberg, and in carrying back the ſilver coined at the mint of that place. Having ferried over the Dramme at Hogs-ſund, we quitted this ſmiling valley, and paſſing among hills and rocks, and over ſtony roads, did not, till the duſk of the evening, reach Kongſberg, celebrated for its ſilver-mines, the produce of which has been conſiderably exaggerated by moſt of the travellers who have publiſhed on this ſubject.

Kongſberg ſtretches on both ſides the river Lowe, which, in its courſe through the town, falls in a ſeries of ſmall but pictureſque cataracts over the bare rocks. The crags which border the town are in ſome parts naked, in others cloathed with wood, and intermixed occaſionally with ſlips of corn and paſture; but although there are a few agreeable and fertile ſpots, yet the prominent features of the circumjacent ſcenery are ruggedneſs and horror. Kongſberg contains about 1,000 houſes, including the miners, and 6,000 inhabitants. We were accompanied to the mines, which lie two miles from the town, by a merchant who ſpoke Engliſh, and obligingly ſerved as our interpreter.

Theſe mines were diſcovered and opened dur-

ing the reign of Chriſtian IV. Six-and-thirty mines are now working; the deepeſt, called Segen-Gottes in der North, is 652 feet perpendicular. The matrix of the ore is the *faxum* of Linnæus; the ſilver is extracted according to the uſual proceſs, either by ſmelting the ore with lead, or by pounding. Pure ſilver is occaſionally found in ſmall grains and in ſmall pieces of different ſizes, ſeldom weighing more than four or five pounds. Sometimes, indeed, but extremely rare, maſſes of a conſiderable bulk have been diſcovered, and one in particular which weighed 409 marks, and was worth 3,000 rix-dollars, (£.600); this piece is ſtill preſerved in the cabinet of curioſities at Copenhagen.

Formerly theſe mines produced annually £.70,000; and, in 1769, even £.79,000; at preſent they yield only from £.50,000 to £.54,000. Above 4,000 men were neceſſary for working the mines, ſmelting and preparing the ore; but a few years ago, 2,400 miners were removed to the cobalt-works lately eſtabliſhed at Foſſum, and to other mines, which has reduced the number to 2,500. By theſe and other reductions, the expence, before eſtimated at £.5,760 per month, amounts to only £.4,400, or about £.52,800 per annum. Yet even with this diminution the expences generally equal, and ſometimes exceed the profits.

Government,

Government, therefore, draws no other advantage from theſe mines, than by giving employment to many perſons, who would be otherwiſe incapable of gaining their livelihood, and by receiving a certain quantity of ſpecie, which is much wanted in the exhauſted ſtate of the Daniſh finances. For ſuch is the deficiency of ſpecie, that even at Kongſberg itſelf, change for a bank-note is with difficulty obtained; the miners are paid in ſmall notes, and the whole expences defrayed in paper currency. The value of 13,000 rixdollars, or £.2,600 in block-ſilver, is annually ſent to Copenhagen; the remainder of the ore is coined here, and transferred to Copenhagen. The largeſt piece of money now ſtruck at Kongſberg is only eight ſkillings, or fourpence.

September 11. Having ſatisfied our curioſity, we departed from Kongſberg in the afternoon, and directed our courſe to the cobalt-works at Foſſum. We returned to Hogs-ſund; but inſtead of ferrying over the Dramme, coaſted the river for a little way, then turned into ſo rugged a road with ſuch deep ruts, that we narrowly eſcaped being overturned, and did not arrive at the place of our deſtination till paſt midnight. We previouſly ſent forward a peaſant to order beds, expecting to find an inn, or at leaſt a cottage, wherein we might paſs the night. To

our extreme diſappointment, however, we learned that Foſſum contained only two or three villages, conſiſting of ſcattered cottages, and that the place we ſtopped at contained only the houſe of the inſpector of the cobalt-works. As it was extremely dark and cold, and at ſome diſtance from any houſe where we could be accommodated, and more particularly as the roads we juſt paſſed had proved ſo dangerous, we ventured to knock at the inſpector's door, and requeſt admittance for two Engliſh travellers who were benighted. The family being in bed, we were for a ſhort time in anxious expectation for the anſwer; and no knight-errant was ever more agreeably ſheltered from darkneſs, wind, and weather, than we were, on being admitted over the hoſpitable threſhold.

The next morning a good breakfaſt being ſpread for us, and compliments delivered from our hoſt and hoſteſs, with an invitation to paſs the day with them, announced their attention and civility. We now found that the name of this particular houſe was Foſſum, and a collection of ſmall adjacent cottages was denominated Modum.

The gentleman, who kindly received us at ſo undue an hour, and without previous acquaintance, was Mr. Bornſtein, a native of Germany, lately appointed inſpector of the cobalt-

balt-works. Having paid our reſpects to our hoſt and his amiable wife, whoſe politeneſs we ſhall ever recollect with gratitude, we ſtrolled about the grounds, and admired the ſituation of the houſe, placed near the rivulet Simora, in the midſt of a delightful valley, fertile in paſture and corn, hemp and flax, and bordered by high rocks richly clothed with wood.

The inſpector himſelf politely accompanied us to the works: we had an opportunity of obſerving the whole proceſs, from the firſt calcination of the ore to its final reduction into the powder-blue, and were ſurpriſed to find that it paſſed through 270 hands.

The mine was diſcovered about eight years ago on the ſummit of a rocky mountain, near Skuterud, a ſmall village a few miles from Foſſum, where the works are eſtabliſhed on account of the numerous waterfalls which are neceſſary for turning the mills. A mile from the mine has been lately found a vein of the moſt beautiful quartz; a fortunate diſcovery, as quartz is neceſſary to mix with the cobalt-ore, in order to obtain the powder-blue. The ore being calcined, reduced to powder, and refined, yields the blue powder ſo much uſed.

The fabric employs 36 men, and the mines 320. In 1783, 1400 or 1500 weight was ob-

tained, which ſold, according to its fineneſs, from £.2. 10 *s.* to £.12 the 100 weight, and yielded £.10,000. The expences in that year amounted to £.12,000, becauſe the numerous buildings and machines neceſſary for carrying on the works were ſtill conſtructing. When theſe are finiſhed, the expences will not exceed £.4,000, and the inſpector aſſured me, that he ſhould then be able to make double the quantity that he can at preſent. Therefore the clear gain to the crown will ſcarcely fall ſhort of £.16,000 per annum. The diſcovery of this mine is a great acquiſition to Denmark, as beſides giving employment to many hands, it prevents the importation of powder-blue.

Six miles from Foſſum, we ſtopped at the ſmall village of Skuterud, and aſcended the mountain, on the ſummit of which are the mines of cobalt. There are two mines, called the north and ſouth, each with four pits or openings; the deepeſt is no more than fourteen fathom, becauſe the ore is ſtill in great plenty near the ſurface. It is found in veins, and blown up with gunpowder, In our way we paſſed the fine mine of quartz, which ſupplies the cobalt-works, ſo neceſſary, becauſe twelve parts of quartz are mixed with one of cobalt, to produce the Pruſſian blue. This quartz is as white as alabaſter,

and contains large veins of marien glaſs, or Ruſſian talk, which in ſome countries is uſed for windows.

The proſpect from the ſummit commands a hilly country, and a diſtant plain covered in many parts with rich foreſts, watered by ſeveral ſtreams, and by a large lake, which divides into three great branches, Tyrifiord, Holefiord, and Helesfiord; the banks are beautifully covered with fields of corn and paſture, and chequered with wood. Being prevented from enjoying this delightful view by the duſk of the evening, we deſcended into the plain, croſſed the Snarum upon two rafts, made of whole trees laſhed together, and came to Oulberg, where we found comfortable accommodations in a peaſant's cottage.

The next morning we continued our journey through a moſt agreeably diverſified country, ſometimes through extenſive foreſts of pine and fir, interſperſed with other trees, ſometimes croſſing the fields along a more open and fertile diſtrict, till we reached Skerendal, a ſmall village in the valley of Skeere, ſo called from a rivulet which falls into the lake Tyri.

The peaſant, who ſerved as poſtillion, conducted us to a clean and comfortable houſe, cloſe to a ſaw-mill, and the maid inſtantly ſet before us ſome coffee, cream, bread, and but-

ter. Having taken refreſhment, we demanded what we had to pay? "Nothing," replied the ſervant; and on expreſſing ſurpriſe, as we took the houſe for an inn, ſhe added, her maſter was owner of the ſaw-mill; he was then abſent, or would have been proud to receive us; he left conſtant orders to admit travellers, and furniſh them with every thing they demanded, without accepting the leaſt gratuity; and if we would ſtay and dine there, it would be adding to the obligation we had already conferred by accepting their ſcanty fare.

After expreſſing our acknowledgments for this inſtance of diſintereſted hoſpitality, we embarked in a ſmall boat, and rowed acroſs the lake Tyri, which made the principal feature in the proſpects we lately enjoyed. This beautiful piece of water is twenty-five miles in circumference, including bays and creeks; the ſhores are gentle eminences richly variegated with fertile meadows, corn-fields and hanging-foreſts, and backed by lofty mountains towering above each other. Having rowed acroſs the lake, we landed near Hole, a ſmall village in the diſtrict of Ringerike, deſervedly eſteemed the moſt fertile part of Norway.

From Hole, we continued our journey through a rich plain, the narrow roads winding between corn-

corn-fields and incloſures of paſture, and changed horſes at Steen, near the pictureſque ruins of a church ſeated on a gentle eminence. Steen contains a few remains of ramparts, which prove it to have been a place of ſome importance. At a little diſtance we noticed a mound of earth or barrow, called by the natives the tomb of Halden the Black, king of Norway, and a little further paſſed the church of Norderhug, famous for a battle between the Swedes and Norwegians. We ſoon quitted the rich plain, and penetrating into a hilly country, found the roads ſo exceedingly ſtony and ſteep as to require the utmoſt caution; particularly as the horſes in theſe parts are exceedingly active and lively.

At Setran we again changed horſes, and while they were getting ready, made our repaſt in a peaſant's cottage, containing a room with two beds, which for cleanneſs and neatneſs would have done credit to a gentleman's houſe. In the room I obſerved a print of the unfortunate Struenſee in priſon, tormented by the devil: theſe prints were circulated and eagerly purchaſed by the common people at the time of his fall.

From Setran we paſſed through a valley, enriched by a fine waterfall, detached farms, churches, clumps of trees, diſperſed among the corn-fields and meadows; a river gliding along, and height-

ening

ening by its tranſparency and murmurs the charms of this delightful landſcape. As we were admiring the beauties of this ever-changing ſcenery evening came on, and I was ſuddenly ſtruck with a phænomenon, which never occurred to me except in Switzerland, and which I at firſt miſtook for a meteor. It was a gleam of the ſetting ſun, illuminating the ſnow-capped ſummits of the diſtant mountains, and appearing like a flame of fire ſkirting the diſtant horizon. The air was clear, the ſtars ſhone uncommonly bright, and ſeemed nearer to the eye than I had ever obſerved them before, except on the Swiſs alps.

We took up our abode during the night at Van, a village ſeated on an eminence, and overlooking the Rands-Sion, a lake near fifty miles long, and ſcarcely more than two miles broad, emboſomed in the mountains; the ſloping banks fringed with wood, and chequered with ſcattered cottages. The next morning we ferried over the lake, and coaſted it about ſix miles, the road aſcending and deſcending the precipices which overhang the water. We afterwards rowed over ſeveral ſmaller lakes, which ſupply ſtreams that fall into the Rands-Sion. I obſerved much peaſe and ſome corn ſtill ſtanding, which the peaſants were cutting, and ſeveral ſmall patches

of

of hops; goats were browſing on the ſides of the rocks, and flocks of ſheep paſturing in the vallies, among which many were black.

In theſe parts the price of a milch-cow is from ſeven to nine rix-dollars, (£.1. 8*s.* to £.1. 16*s.*) and in winter, when fodder is ſcarce and dear, one may be purchaſed for 16 *s.* We met during this day's journey numerous bullocks and horſes driving for ſale to Chriſtiania. The bullocks ſell from £.2. to £.2. 8 *s.* per head; and the horſes, which are from thirteen to fourteen hands high, and remarkably active and lively, from £.4. to £.8. apiece.

We next reached Gran or Granewolden, ſtanding on an eminence in the midſt of an extenſive plain, looking down on ſeveral conical rocks, covered with firs, and remarkable for two churches in the ſame church-yard, called the Two Siſters. Theſe buildings ſeem of the ſame date, and at a ſmall diſtance nearly reſemble each other; one is built of ſtone, the other white-waſhed. In one, dedicated to the Virgin, divine ſervice is performed only in Lent; in the other, ſacred to St. Nicholas, during the remainder of the year. I could not learn by whom, or at what period, theſe twin churches were conſtructed.

The ſtony roads having ſhattered the wheels of my cart, we ſtopped to repair it at Dahlin, near

near the northern extremity of the Rands-Sion, backed by a well-cultivated and well-inhabited mountain. This part of Norway is greatly infeſted with bears and wolves. The bears do much harm, not only killing cattle, but deſtroying corn; the inſtances are very rare, which induce them to attack the human ſpecies. The ſhepherds are uſually followed by large dogs of the Newfoundland ſpecies, armed with collars of iron ſpikes, to preſerve them againſt the wolves, who frequently attack them, and endeavour to ſeize them by the neck. The bears uſually fly from them.

The roads of Norway had hitherto appeared to us, long uſed to the Swediſh roads, exceedingly rugged, and ſcarcely paſſable with carriages, and both my companion and I had been occaſionally overturned; but that we now paſſed over mount Kiolway was ſo execrable, that the others were in compariſon ſuper-excellent. I much queſtion indeed if any cart had ever paſſed before we ventured to traverſe it. We aſcended four Engliſh miles, and then deſcended about the ſame diſtance, and were obliged to diſmount and ſupport our carriages, in order to prevent them from overſetting, which, notwithſtanding all our precautions, occaſionally happened. During the firſt part of the way we paſſed a few cottages; but further on all was

wild

wild and deſolate, rocks clothed with pines and firs, a dreary but ſublime ſcenery, commanding from the ſummit a moſt extenſive proſpect; to the ſouth of the delightful country we had traverſed in our way to Dahlin, the Rands-Sion appearing like a broad river winding among the gloomy rocks; to the north, hills piled upon hills, and mountains towering above mountains; the ſnowy Alps of Norway cloſing the majeſtic view.

At the bottom of the deſcent we croſſed a lively rivulet called Ana, came to a lake of the ſame name, and took up our lodgings at the village of Titerud, moſt delightfully ſituated on the banks of a ſmall but beautiful lake, forming the calmeſt and loveliеſt retreat I ever beheld. In this ſequeſtered ſpot, we found, beſides the rooms appropriated to the family, two neat bed-chambers for ourſelves, met with excellent tea and ſugar, butter and cream, and ſupped on a fine trout, weighing ſix pounds, with which fiſh the lake abounds.

September 14. At Titerud, we quitted the mountains, and traverſed a gently waving country, as fertile and pleaſing as the diſtrict of Ringerike, well cultivated and well peopled, the roads winding through the fields like garden walks; we changed horſes at Quickſtand and Lund, and paſſing through a lawn planted by the

hand

hand of nature, which had the appearance of a park, reached the banks of the lake Mioſs.

This lake extends from north to ſouth, is 80 Engliſh miles in circumference; and is in general from twelve to eighteen in breadth. It is divided by a large peninſula, and contains one iſland ten miles in circumference, fertile in corn, paſture, and wood, and ſprinkled with ſeveral farmhouſes.

The lake on the ſide where we embarked is bounded by bleak hills, embrowned with thick groves of pine and fir, whoſe gloomy aſpect reminded me, that we were in the 62d degree of northern latitude, and continued on the oppoſite ſide with banks gently riſing from the margin of the water, enriched with fields of corn and paſture, and reſembling the fertile diſtricts of a more ſouthern climate, the whole exhibiting a rugged perſpective, and pictureſque wildneſs on one ſide, and on the other the cultivated beauties of a milder atmoſphere.

We rowed between the iſland and the peninſula, on the extremity of which ſtands Naſs, a ſmall but neat village, and in two hours landed at Hammer, now a gentleman's ſeat, formerly a large town containing near 2000 inhabitants. The ſite of this once flouriſhing place can now be only traced by ſome parts of the old walls, heaps of rubbiſh, and the pictureſque remains of a large

a large cathedral, conſiſting of four Gothic arches, which ſtand on an eminence overlooking the lake.

Having ſatisfied our curioſity, we reimbarked, rowed about five miles to a ſmall village, landed, and walked to Giellum. Here we procured norſes, and continued our journey through a leſs peopled diſtrict thickly ſtrewn with foreſts, and ferried over the Glomme, about as broad as the Thames at Henley. This river receives the Worme, which iſſues from the lake Mioſs. We had frequent views of the Glomme, which preſented a broad ſurface, ſometimes watering pleaſant vallies, ſometimes interrupted by ſand-banks, over which it frequently ſhifts its courſe, ſometimes winding between rocky cliffs, and precipitating itſelf in frequent cataracts.

Being now in the 62d degree of north latitude, and in a mountainous country, we had already experienced the approach of winter. On the 14th of September it ſnowed; on the 15th was a ſevere hoar-froſt, and the ſurface of ſeveral ponds and ſtagnant waters were frozen to the thickneſs of half-a-crown. It was, however, clear and ſunny, like a fine day in November; but this morning, September 17, it is as cold and ſevere as the beginning of January in England. The pines and firs are ſo thickly covered with hoar-froſt as to bear the appearance

of

of being ſprinkled with ſnow; and the foreſt trees have changed their leaves in the ſpace of one night.

This morning having again ferried over the Glomme, here as deep and about as broad as the Thames at Putney, we reached Kongſwinger, a ſtrong fortreſs on the frontiers of Norway, ſituated on a ſteep rock, and deemed impregnable. Charles the Twelfth reconnoitred it, but found the poſition ſo ſtrong, that even he thought it prudent to decline the attack. It was built at different intervals; the moſt ancient part was probably conſtructed above 400 years ago, and the fortreſs has been gradually enlarged, particularly by Chriſtian the Fifth and Frederic the Fourth. Some recent fortifications render it a regular fortreſs with eight baſtions. In time of war it requires a garriſon of 1000 men; the preſent complement conſiſts only of 120. Some eminences on the other ſide of the river command the fortreſs, and would be the only means by which the works could be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs; but, according to the opinion of the officer who accompanied us, theſe heights are ſo extremely ſteep and rugged, that it would be almoſt impracticable to draw to their ſummits large pieces of artillery of a ſize ſufficient to batter the walls.

From the windows of the fortreſs, we commanded

manded a fine view of the Glomme, winding at the foot of a ridge of hills, clothed with trees, and chequered with fields of corn and paſture; the ſmall lake Wingen forming a beautiful feature in the variegated landſcape.

CHAP. 6.

Entrance into Sweden.—Carlſtadt.—Philipſtadt.—Kioping.—Anecdotes of Scheele.

SEPTEMBER 18. A few miles from Kongſwinger, we paſſed a ridge of hills, which ſeparate the waters that flow into the Glomme, from thoſe that run eaſtward into the Wenner; we changed horſes at Magnor, the laſt village in Norway, ſoon reached the frontiers, which are formed by a line drawn from north to ſouth, and paſſed ſeveral flat ſtones, marking the limits of the two kingdoms. On one ſide I obſerved the cypher of Adolphus Frederic, 1754, on the other that of Frederic the Fifth.

On entering Sweden our paſſports were examined, and our baggage ſlightly ſearched by a cuſtom-houſe officer. Without this ceremony we ſhould have recognized our arrival in Sweden by the goodneſs of the roads, which far exceed thoſe of Norway, and indeed are as good, though not ſo broad, as Engliſh turnpikes; for during ſeveral thouſand miles which I travelled in this and my former tour in 1779, I ſcarcely met with fifty miles that deſerved the appellation of indifferent. As they wind through fields and ex-

tenſive

tenſive foreſts, overſhadowed by lofty trees, which caſt a gloomy ſhade with their overhanging foliage, they appear like gravel walks, carried through grounds and plantations.

The two principal objects of our journey from the frontiers of Norway to Stockholm were to examine the canal of Stroemſholm, and viſit the mines of Dalecarlia. Our route lay through the fertile provinces of Wermerland and Weſtmanland; diverſified with mountains, rocks, hills, and dales, clothed with foreſts of birch, poplar, mountain aſh, pine, and fir, and abounding with ſucceſſive lakes. Nothing can exceed the beauty of theſe lakes, they are from four to forty miles in circumference; ſome ſo narrow as to appear like broad rivers, others of circular ſhape; their ſhores in ſome parts ſteep and rocky, in others gently ſloping, but always feathered with hanging wood to the margin of the water; the roads delightfully winding through the dark foreſts, which overhang the impending precipices. Numerous rivulets flow from theſe lakes, rippling over ſtony channels, or forming ſmall cataracts, which gliſten through the intervening foliage.

The principal places we paſſed through were Carlſtadt, Philipſtadt, and Kioping. At a ſmall diſtance from Carlſtadt we came to the Klara Elb, or large river, a fine clear ſtream, but with ſo ſmall a current, as to appear like a narrow

lake; we coaſted its banks, which are prettily fringed with underwood, until it divides into two ſtreams ſurrounding the iſland of Tingwalla, on which Charlſtadt is built. Theſe two branches afterwards unite and fall into the lake Wenner.

The iſland is twelve miles, and the town a mile and a half in circumference; it was built by Charles the Ninth, and called after his name; the ſtreets are broad and ſtraight; and excepting the cathedral and ſchool, the houſes are of wood painted. It is a biſhop's ſee; the epiſcopal palace is likewiſe of wood, but not painted, and has ſo extenſive a front, and ſo many windows, as to look like a manufactory. The town contains 1,500 inhabitants, who carry on a commerce of iron and wood acroſs the Wenner, and import tea, ſugar, and ſpices.

Philipſtadt ſtands in the midſt of a hilly and rocky country, abounding in iron mines, between two ſmall lakes, on a lively rivulet. This town was alſo built by Charles the Ninth, and named after his ſon Philip; in 1775 it was utterly deſtroyed by fire, and has been ſince rebuilt. It contains no more than ſixty houſes, which are conſtructed of wood, and a church and hoſpital built of ſtone, plaiſtered.

We paſſed through Arboga, and continued our journey north of the river Ulviſon, through

a rich

a rich and beautiful vale, to Kioping, a ſtraggling dirty town on a ſmall ſtream, which falls into the lake Maeler. The veſſels aſcend this ſtream near the extremity of the town, and convey acroſs the Maeler to Stockholm the iron from the mines of Wermerland.

I did not omit paying a viſit to Scheele, ſince deceaſed, who was ſettled as an apothecary at Kioping, and whoſe chymical diſcoveries have rendered his name deſervedly celebrated among the naturaliſts of Europe.

Charles William Scheele, the ſon of a tradeſman, was born at Stralſund, in December 1742, and received the rudiments of education at a private ſchool, and afterwards in the public ſeminary. Having at an early age expreſſed a ſtrong deſire to follow the profeſſion of an apothecary, he was bound apprentice to Bauch, of Gotheborg, with whom he continued till 1765, and laid the foundation of his chymical knowledge. He was remarkably quiet and ſerious, extremely attentive to the medical and chymical preparations, and uſed afterwards to repeat the proceſs in his own apartment. He ſeems to have been firſt excited to the ſtudy of chymiſtry, by the peruſal of Neuman's chymiſtry, recommended by Grunberg, an apprentice in the ſame ſhop. He alſo met with Lemerie and Stahl's works, and Kenckell's Laboratory, which was his favourite book.

In 1765, he departed from Gotheborg, and ſerved different apothecaries; firſt, Karlſtroem, of Malmoe; ſecondly, Scharenberg, of Stockholm, and, in 1773, obtained an appointment with Loock of Upſala. He increaſed his knowledge by forming an acquaintance with the learned men of the univerſity, particularly the ſtricteſt friendſhip with profeſſor Bergman, and by enjoying free acceſs to the public laboratory. In 1775, he was appointed by the medical college apothecary at Kioping, where he finiſhed his days *.

His character as a chymiſt is ſufficiently known by his great and numerous diſcoveries in that ſcience.

Scheele ſtruggled during his whole life againſt narrow circumſtances; and when appointed apothecary of Kioping, involved himſelf in debt to purchaſe the ſtock of his predeceſſor. He was engaged to marry his predeceſſor's widow; but waited until he had diſcharged his debts, and collected a moderate proviſion for her in caſe of his death. He had ſcarcely effected his purpoſe, and received the offer of an annuity of £. 300 per annum, to ſettle in England, which would have afforded him more leiſure, and a ſufficient income to purſue his chymical diſco-

* The reader will find, in Wells's Chemiſche Annalen for 1787, a liſt of the works and principal diſcoveries of Scheele; alſo in the Gentleman's Magazine for April 1789.

veries,

veries, when his health declined. His diſorder began with an inflammation in his eyes, ariſing probably from his intenſe zeal in his chymical experiments, and ended in a total debility. He died on the twenty-firſt day of May 1786, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and two days before his death, married the perſon to whom he had been ſo long betrothed, and left her the little money he had been able to ſave. The union of virtue and knowledge is doubly meritorious; and it is a pleaſing ſatisfaction to add, that the morals of Scheele were ſtrict, and his conduct irreproachable in all ſeaſons of life.

Scheele had neither time nor inclination to form common acquaintances; for moſt of the hours which he could ſpare from his ſhop and the duties of his office he employed in his laboratory and library; but he was greatly attached to a few congenial friends, and fond of converſing with them on ſubjects of chymiſtry. He was to them extremely open, and of a communicative diſpoſition, never withholding his information, or concealing his diſcoveries. Before he adopted any opinion, he was particularly cautious; but when he had once formed it he was deciſive, and defended it with firmneſs, yet without heat. He was, however, always open to conviction; and more than once retracted his opinion, when convinced by argument or experiment.

Scheele underſtanding no other languages but the Latin, German, and Swediſh, had not the advantage of being benefited by the early intelligence of diſcoveries made by foreigners, and was forced to wait until the information was conveyed to him in the ſlow and uncertain channel of tranſlation. Even his acquaintance with the Swediſh was not ſufficient to write the treatiſes he ſent to the academy of ſciences, but he was accuſtomed to compoſe them in German, from which language they were tranſlated into Swediſh.

When we conſider the number and accuracy of Scheele's experiments, we ſhould naturally preſume that his chymical apparatus was complete, and his laboratory large. On the contrary, his laboratory was confined, and his apparatus inconvenient, owing to the ſcantineſs of his circumſtances. If he made ſuch important and accurate diſcoveries with a ſcanty and indifferent apparatus, and without aſſiſtance, what would he have done under different circumſtances and ſituation.

CHAP. 7.

Palace and Canal of Stroemſholm.—Incidents of the Journey.

THE palace of Stroemſholm is prettily ſituated on a ſmall iſland, encircled by two rapid currents, which fall in a few paces into the Freden lake, that communicates with the Maeler. It ſtands in a park planted by the hand of nature with many fine oaks, and was built by Hedwige Eleonora, widow of Charles the Tenth, and regent during the minority of her grandſon Charles the Twelfth; but not being finiſhed during her life, was never inhabited until the king fitted it up in 1774. It is built of brick, ſtuccoed white, and the front is ornamented by two projecting ſquare towers, and a light octagon dome. I have ſcarcely ever ſeen a more comfortable manſion; the rooms are lofty and ſpacious, and the upper ſtory commands a beautiful view of the Freden and Maeler lakes.

Near the palace are ſeveral old wooden buildings, which bear the appearance of carpenters' houſes; one of which was inhabited by queen Hedwige, while the palace was preparing for her reception. It is exceedingly curious, as it remains

mains in its original ſtate with the furniture of the laſt century. I noticed ſeveral fine portraits; a head of Hedwige herſelf at an advanced age; another of Chriſtina, three quarters ſize, leaning one hand on a lion's head, well painted, with great expreſſion of countenance; a ſtill finer picture, whole length, of Charles the Twelfth, in the ninth year of his age, leaning alſo on a noble lion's head; the painter is the Swediſh Ehrenſahl. Charles is here repreſented as a moſt beautiful boy: both his phyſiognomy and appearance are ſoft and effeminate, and, except in the luſtre of his eye, by no means indicative of his ſubſequent character.

This palace gives its name to the canal now forming between the lakes on the confines of Dalecarlia and the Maeler.

The iron and copper from the mines of Weſtmanland and Dalecarlia, being conveyed by land to the Maeler, before they can be forwarded by water to Stockholm, the tranſport is exceedingly expenſive. A plan was accordingly projected to render the waters navigable from the Sodra Barken, a lake on the confines of Dalecarlia, to the Freden, which communicates with the Maeler, or in other words to form an inland navigation from the confines of Dalecarlia to Stockholm.

The waters joining the Sodra Barken and the Freden, conſiſt of numerous lakes and rivers, which,

PLAN
of the CANAL of
STROEMSHOLM
which joins the
LAKE SODRA BARKE
on the Confines of
DALECARLIA
to the
LAKE MÆLER.
LONDON
Published by T. CADELL, Strand.
Octo.r 1st 1790.
DALECARLIA
PROVINCE OF WESTMANLAND
Simla
Flogen Lake
Fagersta
Trull Lake
Lake Frangen
Vastanfors
Sundbo
Small Aspen
Engelsberg
Vala
Virsbo
Gammelby
Seglingsberg
Great Nadden
Little Nadden
Rhamnætz Sluices
Rhamnætz Church
Fater
Magfors Lake
Magfors Sluice
Sura
West Sura
Sura Lake
Alsatra
Trengfors
Skuntuna
Arby
Suedvi
Berga
Proestbro
Kohlbak
Molntorp
Westerqvarn
Hamra
Gursta
SCALE
British Statute Miles 69 & 1/2 to a Degree
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
One Swedish Mile of 18.000 Ells or 10 & 3/4 to a Degree
1/4 1/2 3/4

which, flowing through a rocky country, fall in repeated cataracts, and are full of ſhoals. Theſe rivers are called in the map by the general name of Rumnætz, but take local appellations from the lakes which they join, from the villages which they waſh, and from the forges which they turn.

We had the honour of obtaining, by the king's command, an order from Baron Sparre to the inſpectors of the ſluices; we had alſo an opportunity of examining a large plan of the canal, and received from the baron a plan on a ſmaller ſcale, which has enabled me to give the annexed engraving.

The plan was formed by Alſtroem, a celebrated engineer, who laid it before the board of mines in 1776, and eſtimated the expence at £. 40,000. Being rejected by the board as too expenſive and difficult, it was patroniſed by Baron Sparre, governor of Stockholm, a fund was raiſed by a ſociety of individuals, and the work was commenced in 1778. The king agreed to allow the proprietors four per cent. for all the money expended during a term of four years, and afterwards prolonged that term until the proprietors ſhould receive a profit of four per cent.

By inſpecting the plan the reader will perceive, that in thoſe parts where it was impoſſible to render the waters navigable, the lakes and ſtreams have been joined by ſeveral cuts; Sroem-

ſholm,

ſholm, Waterquarz, Præſtfors, Skantze or Traenfors, Alſatra, Magfors, Ramnætz, Seglingſberg, Væſtanfors, Udnæs, Fagerſta, and Simla. Of theſe the largeſt is that of Skantze, which is 8,400 feet in length. In many parts the beds of the rivers have been deepened, and the rock blown away under water by means of machines invented by the celebrated Turnberg, and ſimplified by Alſtroem.

The ſluices, which are twenty-five in number, are 100 feet long, 72 broad, and faced with granite. Of theſe eleven were finiſhed; and it was conjectured, that if the proprietors could advance the neceſſary money, the whole might be completed in four years.

September 23. For the purpoſe of viſiting the ſeveral parts of this navigation, we made an agreeable expedition from Stroemſholm to Dalecarlia. We had a pleaſant drive from the palace through groves of oak, ſkirted by a ſmall lake, which is joined by the laſt cut, and the twenty-fifth ſluice, to the Freden; thence through a leſs agreeable and more open country to Weſteros; the high ſpires of the cathedral riſing before us, and preſenting a pictureſque object from the adjacent country.

In proceeding from Weſteros, which I have deſcribed in my former tour, we had delightful views of the Maeler, beautifully ſprinkled with iſlands, ſome bare, and ſome prettily wooded,

ed. We changed horſes at Kalbæck, and croſſed the river forming part of the canal, over a wooden bridge, under which the current flowed with great rapidity. The channel has been deepened by blowing up the rocks under water, and nearly finiſhed for the paſſage of boats; thence coaſting the river as it winded through the valley, its navigation occaſionally obſtructed with ſhoals which were deepening, we arrived at Skantze. Here we alighted, and called at the director's houſe, bearing as our paſſport the letter from Senator Sparre. Unfortunately he was not at home, and it rained hard. We examined, however, the works between Skantze and Traengfors, which are the largeſt and moſt difficult of the whole plan. The length of the cut is 8,400 feet, and the depth to be excavated in ſome places not leſs than 80 feet, of which there is much rock. The perpendicular fall of water is 128 feet eight inches, which will be broken by eight ſluices, of which four were nearly finiſhed. Part of the cut is excavated in the ſand, and ſupported by walls of hewn granite.

We propoſed taking a boat juſt above the cut forming at Skantze, and aſcending the canal as far as the ſluices of Alſatra; but the rain pouring down with great violence, we continued our journey in the carriage, coaſted the lakes and waters which form the inland navigation, and

examined

examined ſeveral of the numerous cuts and ſluices. We changed horſes at Stoltorp and Ramnætz, and reached Næſs with an intention of croſſing over to Virſboe, where we were aſſured of an hoſpitable reception at a houſe belonging to Baron Silverſchiolde. But we did not reach Næſs until night, and as it was exceedingly dark, and the weather tempeſtuous, we could not find any waterman who would venture to convey us acroſs the lake. We were unwilling to return to Ramnætz; and we did not without great difficulty obtain admittance into a peaſant's cottage. Although the hovel which ſheltered us was wretched, yet a comfortable fireſide and ſome clean ſtraw appeared abſolute luxury to us, pierced with cold, and wet with travelling the whole day in open carts, expoſed to inceſſant rain.

September 24. The windy weather continuing, and the morning ſhowery, we ſent for poſthorſes, intending to return to Rhamnætz, and proceed by land to the mines of Dalecarlia, without viſiting the remaining parts of the canal, when we were agreeably prevented by the unexpected arrival of Mr. Berger, inſpector of the works at Skantze. He brought compliments from Mr. Alſtroem, who was ſorry he was not at home when we called at his houſe; and had now diſpatched his inſpector to offer his ſervices,

and

and accompany us to Virſboe and Væſtanfors. We readily accepted this kind offer, and rowed over to Virſboe, delightfully ſituated on a promontory which projects into the lake. Being hoſpitably treated by Mr. Ulberg, inſpector of the iron forge belonging to Baron Silverſchiolde, we embarked in a ſix-oared boat, in company with Mr. Berger, who ſteered. The wind blew hard, and directly contrary, ſo that our boatmen were employed five hours in rowing againſt wind and current the ſpace of fifteen miles. This part of the navigation from Virſboe to Væſtanfors is complete; as boats have ſailed from Væſtanfors to the beginning of the works at Traengfors. We rowed acroſs ſeveral lakes, and aſcended the ſtreams which join them. The lakes are extremely beautiful: of theſe the Ameningen is twenty-ſix miles, and the Stora Aſpen twenty in circumference. The expanſe of water is broken with woody iſlands, and the ſhores are fringed with trees, and interſperſed with villages.

We at length reached Væſtanfors, and landing near the houſe of Mr. Bedouar, proprietor of an iron foundery, diſpatched our Swediſh ſervant to procure a lodging, and order our dinner. While we were waiting in the cold, the return of our meſſenger, Mr. Bedouar accoſted us. He was informed, he ſaid, by Mr. Berger, that we

were

were Engliſh gentlemen on our travels, and had letters of recmmendation from Baron Sparre; either of thoſe circumſtances were ſufficient inducements for him to receive us in his houſe; he added, that as we ſhould find bad accommodations in the village, he would take no refuſal. Although extremely unwilling to give ſo much trouble to a perſon with whom we were unacquainted; yet we could not reject an invitation ſo politely made, and ſo ſtrongly enforced. We accordingly took poſſeſſion of comfortable apartments, which, our landlord added, were ours as long as we choſe to favour him with our company. By this time it was near five, and we were extremely hungry. But as we well knew that the family hour of dining in this country is twelve, we were preparing privately to ſatisfy our appetites with ſome bread and cheeſe, which we had fortunately brought with us, when Mr. Bedouar himſelf announced to us that dinner was ready; one among many inſtances of the polite attentions we received from our worthy hoſt.

Having made a hearty meal, we accompanied Mr. Bedouar about the environs. His houſe is pleaſantly ſituated near a cataract of the river, and commands a fine view of the ſmall lake Frangen, agreeably ſkirted with trees, of the villages of Udnæs and Tagerſta, and of the Stora Aſpen; the ſpire of the church of Væſtanfors painted of a deep

a deep red, and ſome cottages ſtanding on a gentle eminence, forming picturesque objects on the oppoſite ſide of the cataract. The evening having already ſet in, the beams of the moon gliſtened in the foam of the deſcending cataract, and on the agitated ſurface of the lakes.

The next morning our obliging hoſt prepared a boat, and requeſted Mr. Lofgren, inſpector of the works, to accompany us to the ſluices. We firſt examined the cut and ſluice of Væſtanfors, which is 600 feet long, and excavated by the ſide of the cataract. The ſluice was finiſhed, except the gates. We then embarked, rowed up the lake Frangen, admired its banks, gently waving, and covered with trees, paſture, and arable land, the ſouthern extremity bounded by the church and village of Væſtanfors, the northern by the village of Udnæs. We landed on the ſouth ſide of the cut forming at Udnæs, which is 320 feet long, again took boat above the cataract, and rowed through the Fagerſta river, which has been deepened by ſpringing the rocky bed under the water above 1,600 feet. Fagerſta cut is 1,400 feet long, and the greateſt depth of the excavation 23. On the ſide of the cataract is a forge, and a country houſe of wood painted white belonging to Mr. Bankæus, the proprietor of the iron works. We walked through the garden, and again embarked on the northern extremity of the Fagerſta cut, rowed up the

river Simla, landed on the ſouthern extremity of the Simla canal, and examined the ſuperb works which were almoſt finiſhed. The Simla cut is 3,000 feet in length, of which 630 have been hollowed in the rock; the depth of the excavation is 24 feet.

The river in this ſpot forms a ſucceſſion of cataracts; and the ſhores are ornamented with a villa placed in a moſt romantic ſituation. In all theſe parts an iron forge, a villa belonging to the proprietor of the iron works, and a ſmall cluſter of houſes inhabited by the workmen, hang ſuſpended over each cataract. The roaring of the waters, the beating of the hammers, and the bellowing of the furnaces, ſtrive for maſtery. The northern ſluice at Simla is the firſt ſluice of this canal, from whence the navigation is open to the Sodra Barken, on the confines of Dalecarlia.

No doubt can be entertained concerning the utility of this inland navigation, which will connect the province of Dalecarlia with the capital; and it reflects the higheſt honour on the engineer who planned the works, on the ſovereign who patronized them, and on the individuals who have riſked their fortunes in ſo arduous an undertaking. The expence has already amounted to £. 25,000. £. 12,500 are wanting; and it is conjectured, that for that ſum the whole might be completed in four years.

From

From this agreeable excurſion we returned to Mr. Bedouar's hoſpitable manſion. The next morning we took leave of our friendly hoſt, to whom we could not ſufficiently expreſs our obligations, and in a few miles entered the province of Dalecarlia. We ſoon came to the lake Sodra Barken, paſſed the ſmall town of the ſame name, which ſtands on a promontory dividing the Sodra from the Nodra Barken. The road winded delightfully on the weſtern bank cloſe to the margin of the water; and the view of the lake was enlightened by a number of boats filled with peaſants, who were returning from church.

We changed horſes at Norbarke, a ſmall village on the north-weſtern extremity of the lake, which will become a place of much commerce, ſhould the canal of Stroemſholm ever be completed, as it will be the great depoſitory for the iron, copper, and other commodities tranſported from theſe parts to Stockholm.

Quitting this place, we entered a wilder country, thickly clothed with foreſts, paſſed a ſucceſſion of hills and vallies watered with numerous lakes and rivulets, and at the cloſe of the evening arrived at Ruſtgoden, a village in the province of Dalecarlia. The firſt appearance of the inn did not prejudice us in its favour; but on entering we found ſeveral comfortable apartments and clean beds; and we ſcarcely ſeated

ourſelves, before part of the ſupper prepared for the family was placed before us. It conſiſted of a cock of the wood, eggs and bacon, potatoes, and pancakes. At any time ſuch fare would have been acceptable; but to us, who had faſted from eleven in the morning, and whoſe appetites were ſharpened by the keenneſs of the air, 'twas moſt unheard of luxury.

The king, who juſtly prides himſelf on his deſcent from Guſtavus Vaſa, ordered a wet-nurſe for the prince royal to be choſen among the women of Dalecarlia, a province whoſe natives firſt ſupported Guſtavus Vaſa, and enabled him to begin thoſe efforts which ended in the expulſion of Chriſtian the Second, and in the eſtabliſhment of the houſe of Vaſa on the Swediſh throne. Accordingly three women were nominated, among whom was our landlady. Although ſhe was not ſelected to ſuckle the prince, yet ſhe ſtaid ſome time at the palace of Drotningholm. She ſhewed us, with much ſatisfaction, a dreſs of buff-ſilk and ſky-blue, edged with ſilver lace, which ſhe received by order of the king; and from her journey to court, and the preſents there received, ſhe has derived great conſideration among the peaſants of the neighbourhood. In general the peaſants of Dalecarlia, who have been always remarkable for their loyalty, were much flattered with the mark of diſtinction paid

to their province; and in the late danger which threatened Sweden from the Ruſſian war, and the invaſion of the Danes, (1788) were the foremoſt in proving their attachment, and offering their ſervices.

CHAP. 8.

Dalecarlia.—Memorials of Guſtavus Vaſa.—Oernetz.—Copper Mine of Fahlun.—Cataract of the Dahl.—Gefle.—Loefsta.—Iron Mine of Danemora.

THE province of Dalecarlia may be called the claſſical ground of Sweden, being full of memorials, which indicate the veneration of the natives for the memory of their deliverer, Guſtavus Vaſa, the greateſt man whom Sweden, fertile in great men, ever produced; if we eſtimate the greatneſs of his actions by the ſmallneſs of the means.

With infinite pleaſure I recognized, during this day's journey, the ancient ſilver mine in which this father of his country is ſaid to have been concealed, and in which he performed the work of a common miner, expecting the lucky moment to emerge from obſcurity. As I ſtood on the brink of the mine, I figured to myſelf the Swediſh patriot, exciting by the moſt animated expreſſions and geſtures the Dalecarlian mountaineers to deeds of glory, and iſſuing from this ſubterraneous retreat the avenger of oppreſſion, and the deliverer of his country.

Of

Of all the places moſt remarkable in the life of Guſtavus, and moſt curious as a memorial of that great man, is Oernetz, the houſe belonging to Paterſon, in which Guſtavus took refuge, where his perfidious hoſt, after receiving him with every apparent demonſtration of joy, would have betrayed him to the Danes, had not his wife preſerved him from her huſband's treachery. This identical houſe exiſts in its original ſtate; it is built of wood, painted red, and covered with ſhingles.

We aſcended a ſpiral ſtair-caſe, with a gallery on the outſide of the houſe, and entered the bed-chamber in which Guſtavus was concealed. The bed in which he ſlept is a barrack wainſcot bedſtead with a ſtraw mattraſs, but is ridiculouſly hung with curtains of blue purple cloth, ornamented with the three crowns, the arms of Sweden; as if any pomp of decoration could add to a piece of furniture, which derives its only merit from the memory of Guſtavus Vaſa.

The inventory of this apartment is exceedingly curious: the figure of Guſtavus Vaſa ſtanding in complete armour; his under-garments of blue velvet, laced with gold, the ſame which he wore when alive; his bow and arrows, ſnuff-box, and his Bible, printed at Upſala in

1541. The figures of two Dalecarlians in their ancient dreſs, and armed with weapons common in the ſixteenth century. Their clothes and ſtockings are of white cloth; their hats high crowned, and peaked at top, with large flat rims, a leather girdle round their waiſts, to which are hung two knives in a leathern caſe, ſuch as are ſtill carried by the Swediſh and Norwegian peaſants; an iron crow for drawing the ſtrings of the croſs-bows, and a kind of tinder-box; in the right hands, a croſs-bow, and on the left ſide a quiver of undreſt leather filled with arrows. One of theſe figures is that of Jacob Jacobſon, the ſtable boy, who conveyed Guſtavus to the curate's houſe at Swartzio, when he eſcaped from Oernetz; the ſecond, that of the peaſant who tendered him aſſiſtance when travelling in the foreſt; a third figure repreſents the guide, who, in conducting him through the foreſt, robbed and left him in the greateſt diſtreſs, but afterwards amply compenſated for this act of treachery by the bravery and fidelity of his ſubſequent conduct, when the Dalecarlian peaſants revolted in his favour. On the ſtair-caſe leading to this apartment is the privy, down which Guſtavus deſcended when he eſcaped from Oernetz; on beholding which I ſhuddered, as if the fate of Sweden now depended on his eſcape.

The

The ſituation of Oernetz, on the borders of a large lake, and in an undulating country, enriched with wood, is ſufficiently delightful to attract the notice of travellers, even if it did not contain memorials of Guſtavus Vaſa.

From Oernetz, we continued our journey through a hilly and rocky country, ſcantily provided with trees, but abounding in mines, to Fahlun. As we approached this town, we were ſtruck with the deſolate appearance of the environs, and the numerous furnaces infecting the air; while on the other ſide the eye was relieved with the view of the lake Run, interſperſed with numerous iſlands.

Fahlun, ſituated in the midſt of rocks and hills, between the two large lakes of Run and Warpen, contains 1200 houſes, and including the miners, 7000 inhabitants. Excepting two churches of brick, roofed with copper, and a few other houſes of the ſame materials, the buildings are principally of wood, and of two ſtories.

The copper mine, which gives exiſtence and celebrity to this town, is on its eaſtern ſide. Although the time of the firſt diſcovery cannot be aſcertained; yet its great antiquity is proved by the earlieſt records of Sweden, and particularly in the charter of Magnus Smek, which renews its privileges, and conſiders it as exiſting from

from time immemorial; from which we may fairly conclude it muſt have been worked eight or nine hundred years.

The mine is private property, and conſiſts of 1200 ſhares, each worth 150 rix-dollars, (£. 37. 10 *s.*) Four times a week the ore is divided: eleven equal heaps are formed; eight are diſtributed among eight of the proprietors, and the three remaining heaps ſold by auction; of theſe, one is appropriated to the repairs of the works; the ſecond to pay the ſalaries of the miners and other workmen; the third formerly belonged to the crown, but has been lately relinquiſhed by the king, and employed in defraying the expence of making new excavations. In this manner the ore is equally divided, until the whole number of proprietors have had their reſpective ſhares, when the rotation begins again.

The ore is firſt roaſted in the open air to deprive it of the ſulphur, and then ſmelted; this operation is repeated five times; it is then brought to the public office, and weighed: of twenty parts the proprietors receive ſixteen, the crown two and an half, and the remaining one and an half is appropriated towards the machinery of the mines, and other incidental expences. Each proprietor receives at the office a receipt for his quantity of copper,

and

and this receipt he either ſells, or the copper is tranſported at the common expence to Arfweſtadt, where it is refined and worked into plates.

The copper is not found in veins, but in maſſes, and the bed does not extend an Engliſh mile in circumference. The matrix of the ore, or rock, is the ſaxum of Linnæus, and pyrites of iron. The richeſt part of the ore may perhaps yield 20 per cent. of copper; but as the poor and the rich parts are blended, they give only 2 per cent. when firſt brought from the mine, and 12 per cent. when once ſmelted.

Large quantities of copper are annually obtained, by placing pieces of iron in troughs of water, impregnated with blue vitriol, by a proceſs extremely ſimple and common in chymical experiments, but which has led ignorant perſons to believe, that the iron is changed into copper. The water having a greater affinity with iron than with copper, diſſolves the iron particles, and precipitates a proportionate number of particles of copper before held in ſolution, which aſſume the places of the particles of iron recently diſſolved; and as this operation is continual and gradual, the pieces of iron are entirely encruſted with copper, and appear converted into that metal.

Twelve hundred workmen are employed; ſix hundred miners, and the ſame number in roaſting

ing and ſmelting the ore, making charcoal, and other works above ground.

The morning after our arrival at Fahlun, we viſited the mine, and deſcended as far as we could penetrate. The mouth or opening is extremely large, perhaps the largeſt in the world, being 1,200 feet in diameter, or near three quarters of an Engliſh mile in circumference: an immenſe chaſm, gradually enlarged to the preſent ſize by the excavations and frequent downfalls of the rock.

We deſcended this chaſm by ſeveral flights of wooden ſteps, till we arrived at the entrance of the firſt ſubterraneous gallery; from whence the deſcent is extremely commodious, not by ladders, as uſual in mines, but down ſteps cut in the rock, and ſloping ſo gently as to be practicable for horſes employed in bringing up the ore. The galleries are from ſix to ten feet high, and ſufficiently ſpacious. The perpendicular depth of the mine from the top of the chaſm is 1,020 feet, and 720 from the entrance into the ſubterraneous gallery to the bottom. The commodious ſtair-caſe continued till we came to a deep pit, to which we deſcended by means of a wooden ladder, and afterwards by an iron ladder, looſely ſuſpended along the ſides of the rock: ſtepping from thence to another wooden ladder, we reached the loweſt part to which we could

could then arrive, as the deepeſt pit was full of water. Our aſcent was long and tedious, and employed near four hours before we again iſſued into day.

The country from Fahlun to Gefle, through the provinces of Dalecarlia and Geſtrike, is as agreeable as any parts we traverſed in Sweden, being richly diverſified with an alternate ſucceſſion of foreſts, rocks, hills and dales, uplands and plains, paſture and arable land, lakes and rivers. But the beauty of the landſcapes was more particularly heightened by the Dahl, the fineſt river in Sweden, which we croſſed ſeveral times, and coaſted its banks, as it flows through a rich and fertile plain. Gefle, the fartheſt northern point in Sweden, to which we puſhed our journey, lies in the 63d degree of north latitude, and in the 17th degree of longitude eaſt from Greenwich. The town is waſhed by three branches of the river Gefle, which begins here to be navigable for veſſels drawing nine or ten feet water, and falls in a ſhort diſtance into a bay of the Baltic. Many of the houſes are conſtructed of brick or ſtone plaiſtered white, and have a neat appearance; the remainder, as uſual in this country, are of wood. Gefle is the moſt commercial town in theſe northern parts of Sweden; the exports are principally iron, pitch and tar, and planks.

A few

A few miles from Gefle, we ferried over the Dahl to Eſcarleby, and walked to the celebrated cataract formed by that river, well deſcribed by Mr. Wraxall in his Northern Tour. The Dahl flows in a broad and tranquil ſtream, until it reaches a ridge of rock and a high iſland a quarter of a mile in circumference, where the whole river forms a cataract ſcarcely inferior to the fall of the Rhine at Schaffhauſen. The iſland divides the cataract into two principal falls, of which the eaſtern is the fineſt.

In winter, or when the river is ſwoln with violent rains, the waters of the eaſtern fall cover the whole ridge from the extremity of the iſland to the banks, and muſt be much leſs pictureſque than as we ſaw it, broken into different falls by numerous crags ſtarting up in the midſt of the deſcending deluge. The breadth of the river from ſhore to ſhore is near a quarter of a mile, and the perpendicular height of the fall between thirty and forty feet. The Gefle ruſhes at the bottom in a narrow channel ſcarcely a hundred feet broad, ſtruggling for vent with unceaſing fury, and foaming at the foot of the iſland, covered with pines, which overhang the abyſs, "ſilent and aſtoniſhed ſpectators of the glorious ſcene *."

* Wraxall's Northern Tour, p. 158.

Words

Words muſt be always deficient in endeavouring to deſcribe a large river pouring its flood of waters from the rocks, roaring with the noiſe of thunder, and ſcattering its foam on the impending woods: neither the pencil nor poetry are adequate to the deſcription.

The next morning we arrived at Loefsta, the ſeat of Baron Geer, and remarkable for the iron founderies belonging to that nobleman. The houſe, with the ſurrounding buildings, appears like a royal palace, while the uniform rows of brick cottages, inhabited by the inſpectors and workmen of the forges, architects, ſmiths, and carpenters, reſemble a ſmall town. Here are four founderies, at which not leſs than 1,500 men are employed. The iron is brought from the mine of Danemora, of which the third part is the property of the baron: it is calcined, reduced to powder, melted, and poured on ſand in large quantities, weighing each from 120 to 160 pounds. In this ſtate it is alternately heated and hammered five or ſix times, and made into bars of iron fit for exportation. Each bar is from 12 to 18 feet in length, from three-fourths of an inch to eight inches broad, and from one-half to three-fourths of an inch thick. Theſe forges prepare annually from 6,000 to 8,000 ſhippund, or from 800 to 1,066 ton. It is ſold at eight rix-dollars per 20 pound, and exported

to

to England for the ſteel manufactures, the Danemora iron being eſteemed the fineſt in the world. Being exported from Oregrund, an adjacent port in the Baltic, it is uſually known in England by the name of the Oregrund iron.

On our arrival at Loefsta, we carried a letter of recommendation from Mr. Arweſon to Baron Geer, and, in the abſence of the baron, received an invitation to dine with his lady; for ſuch is the hoſpitality of the Swedes, that any traveller who brings a letter of recommendation is invited to dinner, and is almoſt deemed guilty of incivility if he does not accept the invitation.

After a ſumptuous dinner, we continued our journey towards Danemora, which ſupplies the iron for the forges of Loefsta, and arrived the ſame evening at Oſterby, the adjacent village, where we took up our abode in a comfortable inn. In the morning we carried a letter of recommendation to Mr. Grill, who has a large property in the mines of Danemora, an excellent houſe and three forges. Mr. Grill kindly reproved us for not coming to his houſe the preceding evening; and, though he was that inſtant ſetting off for Stockholm, inſiſted upon our dining with his niece, and a ſelect company.

After dinner we walked to the mines, which ſeem to differ from all others, inaſmuch as they have

have no ſubterraneous galleries, but are worked in the open air.

The pits are deep excavations, like gravel pits, and form ſo many abyſſes or gulphs. The deſcent is not, therefore, as uſual in mines, down a narrow ſubterraneous ſhaft. Here I ſtepped into a bucket, and hung ſuſpended in the open air, in the ſame manner as if a perſon was placed in a baſket at the top of Saliſbury ſpire, and gradually let down to the ground by a rope and pully. The inſpector accompanied me to the bottom; and while I was placed at my eaſe in the inſide on a chair, ſeated himſelf on the rim of the bucket with his legs extended to maintain the equilibrium; with a ſtick, he gently touched the ſides of the rock and the rope of the aſcending bucket, to prevent our bucket from ſwerving againſt them, which would have infallibly overſet us.

While I hung ſuſpended in mid-air, and ſo giddy that I could not venture to look down, I obſerved three girls ſtanding on the edge of the aſcending bucket, and knitting, with as much unconcern as if on terra firma; ſuch is the effect of cuſtom! We employed five minutes in deſcending, and the depth which we reached, before I ſtepped out of my aerial ſeat, was 500 feet. Not being a mineralogiſt, my curioſity was ſoon ſatisfied; I again entered the bucket, and was drawn up in the ſame manner.

In this ſituation I cloſed my eyes, and converſed in Latin with the inſpector. He informed me, the richeſt ore yields 70 per cent. the pooreſt 30; on an average, the collective maſs gives one-third of pure mineral; 12,000 tons are annually drawn from the mines, which yield 4,000 tons of bar-iron.

The maſs of ore occupies a ſmall compaſs. The length of the pits conſidered as one is 760 feet, and the breadth from three to twelve. The ore runs in veins from eaſt to weſt; the richeſt is near 500 feet in depth, and the Storoe Grube is not yet fathomed. The matrix of the ore, being a calcareous earth, contains but little ſulphur, which is perhaps the reaſon of the ſuperior quality.

The mines of Danemora were diſcovered in 1488. They conſiſt of twelve pits, belonging to thirteen proprietors; of whom Baron Geer poſſeſſes more than one-third. The proprietors work each pit ſeparately, defray the expences, and divide the profits according to their reſpective proportions. The ore, which is dug in ſummer, is laid out in heaps, and divided in the winter months, from November to March, when it can be conveyed on ſledges.; the proprietors ſend it to their reſpective forges, or ſell it on the ſpot. Near three hundred perſons are employed in mining and tranſporting the

ore;

ore ; the miners are paid by the work, and can gain at moſt 1 *s.* 3½ *d.* per day, the other workmen can earn 1 *s.* 1 *d.*

The water is drawn out of the pits by means of pumps worked by water. Theſe pumps are of great length, and occaſion conſiderable expence for repairs. A ſteam-engine was once employed for this purpoſe, but laid aſide on account of the ſcarcity and dearneſs of charcoal.

From Danemora we continued our journey to Upſala and Stockholm.

Having now finiſhed the additional remarks which my ſubſequent journey enabled me to make, I ſhall convey the reader to Helſingborg, in my way to Denmark.

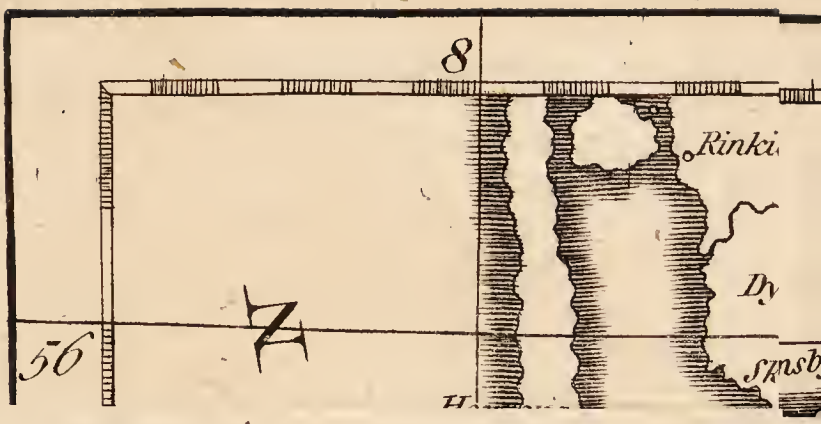
BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.

Paſſage of the Sound.—Entrance into Denmark.—Elſinoor.—Toll of the Sound.—Cronborg caſtle and palace.—Anecdote of queen Matilda.—Hamlet's garden.—Hiſtory of Hamlet from Saxo-Grammaticus.—Copenhagen.—Iſle of Amak.

MARCH 22. We embarked at Helſingborg, and croſſed the Sound, which ſeparates Denmark from Sweden. The wind blew freſh, and was directly contrary; but by tacking we reached Elſinoor in an hour and a half: the direct diſtance between the neareſt points of the two coaſts is about three miles. Midway we had a fine view of the oppoſite ſhores, with the towns of Helſingborg and Elſinoor; the former crowned by an antient tower; the latter diſtinguiſhed by the palace of Cronborg, a leſs romantic, but no leſs beautiful object. The ſhores of Sweden to the north of Helſingborg are ſteep and rocky; but decreaſe in height towards the ſouth, and become low and flat. Thoſe of Zealand conſiſt partly of ridges of ſand, and partly of ſloping ſhores covered with wood.

Elſinoor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MAP of the DANISH ISLES, SLESWICK, and HOLSTEIN.

By Thoˢ Kitchin Senr, Hydrographer to his Majesty.

Danish Miles 15 to a Degree.

1 2 3 4 5 6

English Miles 69 to a Degree.

5 10 20 30

8 9 10 11 12 13

55 56

54

Longitude E. from Greenwich.

NORTH SEA

GERMANY

CATTEGAT

SKAGERRACK

BALTIC SEA

SWEDEN

JUTLAND

DUTCHY OF SLESWICK

DUTCHY OF HOLSTEIN

FUNEN

ZEALAND

LOLLAND

FALSTER

MOEN I.

Langeland I.

Arro I.

Samsoe

Aarhuus

Rinkioping

Skiern

Ringkiobing Bay

Ilfeldt Bay

Kioge Bay

COPENHAGEN

Amak I.

Helgoland I.

Forh I.

Nordstrand

Tonningen

Rendsburgh

Kiel

Slefwick

Flensburg

Hadersleve

Tondern

Ripen

Warde

Veile

Horsens

Aarhuus

Aalborg

Odense

Nyborg

Corsoe

Roskild

Helsingborg

Elsinore

Landskrona

Hwen I.

Femern I.

Oldenburg

Lubeck

Travemunde

Ratzeburgh

Moellen L.

Lauenburg

Elbe River

Weser R.

Eyder R.

Trave R.

Bram R.

Pinnau R.

Alster R.

Stoer R.

Osse R.

R. Elbe

Danish Miles 15 to a Degree.

English Miles 69 to a Degree.

Longitude E. from Greenwich.

Elſinoor is a well-built town, and makes a better appearance than thoſe to which we had lately been accuſtomed; the houſes are of brick. It was a ſmall village, containing a few fiſhermen's huts, until 1445, when it was made a ſtaple town by Eric of Pomerania, who conferred on the new ſettlers conſiderable immunities, and built a caſtle for their defence *. From that period it gradually increaſed in ſize and wealth, and is now, next to Copenhagen, the moſt commercial place in Denmark. It contains 5000 inhabitants, among whom are a conſiderable number of foreign merchants, and the conſuls of the principal nations trading to the Baltic.

The paſſage of the Sound is guarded by the fortreſs of Cronborg, which is ſituated on the edge of a peninſular promontory, the neareſt point of land to the oppoſite coaſt of Sweden. It is ſtrongly fortified towards the ſhore by baſtions, and regular entrenchments; and towards the ſea by ſeveral batteries, mounted with 60 cannon, the largeſt 48 pounders. Every veſſel, in paſſing, lowers her top-ſails, and pays a toll at Elſinoor. It is generally aſſerted, that this fortreſs guards the Sound; and that all ſhips muſt, on account of ſhoal waters and currents, ſteer ſo near the batteries, as to be expoſed to

* Meſſenii Scandia Illuſtrata, Lib. III. p. 50.

their fire, in caſe of refuſal. This, however, is a miſtaken notion. On account, indeed, of numerous and oppoſite currents in the Sound, the ſafeſt paſſage lies near the fortreſs; but the water in any part is of ſufficient depth for veſſels to keep at a diſtance from the batteries, and the largeſt ſhips can even ſail cloſe to the coaſt of Sweden *. The conſtant diſcharge, however, of the toll, is not ſo much owing to the ſtrength of the fortreſs, as to a compliance with the public law of Europe. Many diſputes have ariſen concerning the right which the crown of Denmark has to impoſe this duty. The kings of Sweden, in particular, claiming an equal title to the free paſſage of the Strait, were for ſome time exempted by treaty; but in 1720, Frederic I. agreed, that Swediſh veſſels ſhould be ſubject to the uſual impoſts. All veſſels, beſide a ſmall duty, are rated at $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of their cargoes, except the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Swediſh, which pay only one per cent.; in return, the crown takes the charge of conſtructing light-houſes, and erecting ſignals to mark the ſhoals and rocks, from the Categate to the entrance of the Baltic. The tolls of the Sound, and of the two Belts, ſupply an annual revenue of above £. 100,000.

* This aſſertion was fully verified by the memorable paſſage of the Britiſh fleet, with inconſiderable damage, in March 1801.

The

The palace of Cronborg, which ſtands in the fortreſs, is a ſquare Gothic building of free-ſtone. From an inſcription over the gate, it was begun by Frederic II. and has been repaired and augmented by ſucceeding ſovereigns. It contains nothing worthy of particular deſcription, excepting two good portraits of Frederic II. and Chriſtian IV. and ſeveral battle-pieces, repreſenting the wars of Chriſtian V.

In this palace was impriſoned the late unfortunate queen Matilda. During her confinement ſhe inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permiſſion to walk on the ſide-batteries, or on the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her; and had great reaſon to apprehend, that the party which occaſioned her arreſt meditated more violent meaſures. When the Engliſh miniſter* at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his ſpirited conduct, ſhe was ſurprized with the unexpected intelligence, inſtantly burſt into a flood of tears, embraced him in a tranſport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a ſhort conference, he propoſed, that her majeſty ſhould immediately embark on board a ſhip that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom in which ſhe had experienced ſuch a train of misfortunes. But, however an-

* Mr. afterwards Sir Robert Murray Keith.

xious ſhe was to dēpart, one circumſtance checked the exceſs of her joy: a few months before her impriſonment ſhe was delivered of a princeſs, whom ſhe ſuckled herſelf. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort, and ſhe conceived a more than parental attachment to it, as the conſtant companion of her miſery. The infant was afflicted with the meaſles; and, having nurſed it with unceaſing ſolicitude, ſhe was deſirous of continuing her attention and care. Theſe circumſtances had ſo endeared the child to her, rendered more ſuſceptible of tenderneſs in a priſon than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princeſs was intimated, ſhe teſtified the ſtrongeſt emotions of grief, and could not, for ſome time, be prevailed on to bid a final adieu. At length, after beſtowing repeated careſſes on this darling object of her affection, ſhe retired to the veſſel in an agony of deſpair, and remained on deck, her eyes fixed on the palace of Cronborg, which contained her child, until darkneſs intercepted the view. The veſſel having made little way during night, at day-break ſhe obſerved with fond ſatisfaction that the palace was ſtill viſible, and could not be perſuaded to enter the cabin, as long as ſhe could diſcover the fainteſt glimpſe of the battlements. Matilda afterwards reſided at Zell, where ſhe died of a ſcarlet fever.

Queen

Queen Matilda was naturally of a lively diſpoſition, until her misfortunes brought on a ſettled melancholy. In ſociety ſhe endeavoured to diſſemble her ſorrows, and aſſume a cheerfulneſs to which her heart was a ſtranger. She became extremely fond of ſolitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the moſt bitter lamentations. She retained, to her laſt moments, the moſt unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark: with all the anxiety of a parent ſhe made repeated inquiries after them, and was delighted with receiving the minuteſt accounts of their health, amuſements, and education. Having obtained their portraits, ſhe placed them in her moſt retired apartment; often apoſtrophized them as if preſent *, and addreſſed them in the tendereſt manner.

Adjoining to a royal palace, which ſtands about half a mile from Cronborg, is a garden which curioſity led us to viſit; it is called Hamlet's Garden, and is ſaid, by tradition, to be the very ſpot where the murder of his father was perpetrated. The houſe is of modern date, and ſituated at the foot of a ſandy ridge near the ſea; the garden occupies the ſide of the hill, and is laid out in terraſſes riſing one above another.

* I received this anecdote from a perſon at Zell, who had more than once overheard this affecting addreſs.

Elſinoor is the ſcene of Shakeſpeare's Hamlet; and the original hiſtory from which that divine bard derived the principal incidents of his play is founded on facts, but ſo deeply buried in remote antiquity, as render it difficult to diſcriminate truth from fable. Saxo-Grammaticus, who flouriſhed in the twelfth century, is the earlieſt hiſtorian of Denmark, who relates the adventures of Hamlet. His account is extracted, and much altered, by Belleforeſt, a French author; an Engliſh tranſlation of whoſe romance was publiſhed under the title of the "Hiſtorye of Hamblet *," and from this tranſlation Shakeſpeare formed the groundwork of his play, though with many alterations and additions.

As Saxo-Grammaticus is an author whoſe works are in the hands of but few perſons, and as I never met with an Engliſh tranſlation, it cannot be unacceptable to give a ſhort ſketch of Hamlet's Hiſtory, as recorded in the Daniſh Annals †, that the reader may compare the origi-

* The only copy I ever ſaw of this work is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the curious collection relative to the School of Shakeſpeare, given by the late Mr. Capell to that ſociety. It is in black letter, intitled, The Hiſtorye of Hamblet; Imprinted by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pavier.—The heads of the chapters are given in Mr. Capell's poſthumous work, the School of Shakeſpeare, vol. III. p. 90; and a few extracts in Malone's Supplement to Johnſon's and Stevens's Shakeſpeare.

† Sax. Gram. Lib. III. and IV.

nal

nal character with that delineated by Shakeſpeare.

Long before the introduction of Chriſtianity into Denmark, Horwendillus, Prefect, or King of Jutland, was married to Geruthra, or Gertrude, daughter of Ruric king of Denmark, by whom he had a ſon, called Amlettus, or Hamlet. Fengo murders his brother Horwendillus, marries Gertrude, and aſcends the throne. Hamlet, to avoid his uncle's jealouſy, counterfeits folly; and is repreſented as ſuch an abhorrer of falſehood, that, though he conſtantly frames the moſt evaſive and even abſurd anſwers, yet artfully contrives never to deviate from truth. Fengo, ſuſpecting the reality of his madneſs, endeavours, by various methods *, to diſcover the real ſtate

* Among other attempts, Fengo ordered his companions to leave him in a retired ſpot, and a young woman was placed in his way, with a view to extort from him a confeſſion that his folly was counterfeited. Hamlet would have fallen into the ſnare, if a friend had not ſecretly conveyed to him intelligence of this treachery: he carried the woman to a more ſecret place, and obtained her promiſe not to betray him, which ſhe readily gave, as ſhe had been brought up with him from her infancy. Being aſked, on his return home, if he had indulged his paſſion, he anſwered in the affirmative: but rendered himſelf not believed by the moſt artful ſubterfuges, which, though true, ſeemed evidently to mark a diſordered underſtanding, and by the poſitive denial of the woman. "Upon this woman," as Capell obſerves, "is grounded Shakeſpeare's Opheſia; and his deliverance from this ſnare by a friend, ſuggeſted his Horatio."

ſtate of his mind: amongſt others, he departs from Elſinoor, concerts a meeting between Hamlet and Gertrude, concluding that he would not withhold his ſentiments from his own mother; and orders a courtier to conceal himſelf, unknown to both, for the purpoſe of overhearing their converſation.

The courtier repairs to the queen's apartment, and hides himſelf under a heap of ſtraw *. Hamlet, on entering the cabinet, ſuſpecting the preſence of ſome ſpy, imitates, after his uſual affectation of folly, the crowing of a cock, and, ſhaking his arms like wings, jumps † upon the heap of

Horatio,"—"The rude outlines," as Mr. Malone remarks, "of thoſe characters." "But in this piece there are no traits of the character of Polonius: there is, indeed, a counſellor, and he places himſelf in the queen's chamber behind the arras; but this is the whole. The ghoſt of the old Hamlet is likewiſe the offspring of our author's creative imagination." See Capell's School of Shakeſpeare, vol. III. p. 20; and Malone's Supplement, p. 353.

* Straw was formerly ſpread over the floors as an article of luxury.

† This part ſtands thus in the Engliſh account: "The counſellor entered ſecretly into the queene's chamber, and there hid himſelfe behind the arras, and long before the queene and Hamlet came thither: who being craftie and politique, as ſoone as he was within the chamber, doubting ſome treaſon, and fearing, if he ſhould ſpeake ſeverely and wiſely to his mother, touching his ſecret practiſes, hee ſhould be underſtood, and by that means intercepted, uſed his ordinary manner of diſſimulation, and began to come (r. crow) like a cocke, beating with his arms (in ſuch manner as cockes uſed to ſtrike with their wings), upon the hangings of the

of ſtraw, till feeling the courtier, he draws his ſword, kills him, cuts the body to pieces, boils it, and gives it to the hogs. He then avows to his mother, that he only perſonated a fool; reproaches her for her inceſtuous marriage with the murderer of her huſband, and concludes his remonſtrances by ſaying, "Inſtead, therefore, of condoling my inſanity, deplore your own infamy, and learn to lament the deformity of your own mind."

The queen is ſilent; but is recalled to virtue by theſe admonitions. Fengo returns to Elſinoor, ſends Hamlet to England under the care of two courtiers, and requeſts the king, by a letter, to put him to death. Hamlet diſcovers and alters the letter; and on their arrival in England, the king orders the two courtiers to immediate execution, and betroths his daughter to Hamlet, who gives many aſtoniſhing proofs of a tranſcendent underſtanding.

At the end of the year he returns to Denmark, and alarms the court by his unexpected appearance; as a report of his death had been

the chambers, whereby, feeling ſomething ſtirring under them, he cried, *a rat! a rat!* and preſently drawing his ſworde, thruſt it into the hangings, which done, he pulled the counſellor (half deade) out by the heels, made an end of killing him, and, being ſlain, cut his body in pieces, which he cauſed to be boiled, and then caſt it into an open vault, or privie." Malone's Supplement, vol. I. p. 357.

ſpread,

ſpread, and preparations were making for his funeral.

Having re-aſſumed his affected inſanity, he purpoſely wounds his fingers in drawing his ſword, which the by-ſtanders immediately faſten to the ſcabbard. He afterwards invites the principal nobles to an entertainment, makes them intoxicated, and in that ſtate covers them with a large curtain, which he faſtens to the ground with wooden pegs: he then ſets fire to the palace, and the nobles, enveloped in the curtain, periſh in the flames. During this tranſaction he repairs to Fengo's apartment, and, taking the ſword which lay by the ſide of his bed, puts his own in its place; he inſtantly awakens and informs him, that Hamlet is come to revenge the murder of his father. Fengo ſtarts from his bed, ſeizes the ſword, but, unable to draw it, falls by the hand of Hamlet. The next morning, when the populace were aſſembled to view the ruins of the palace, Hamlet ſummons the remaining nobles, and in a maſterly ſpeech, lays open the motives of his own conduct; proves his uncle the aſſaſſin of his father; and concludes in the following words:

"Tread upon the aſhes of the monſter, who, polluting the wife of his murdered brother, joined inceſt to parricide, and ruled over you with the moſt oppreſſive tyranny. Receive me as the miniſter

miniſter of a juſt revenge, as one who felt for the ſufferings of his father and his people. Conſider me as the perſon who has purged the diſgrace of his country, extinguiſhed the infamy of his mother, freed you from the deſpotiſm of a monſter, whoſe crimes, if he had lived, would have daily increaſed, and terminated in your deſtruction. Acknowledge my ſervices, and if I have deſerved it preſent me with the crown: behold in me the author of theſe advantages, no degenerate perſon, no parricide, but the rightful ſucceſſor to the throne, and the pious avenger of a father's murder. I have reſcued you from ſlavery, reſtored you to liberty, and re-eſtabliſhed your glory; I have deſtroyed a tyrant, and triumphed over an aſſaſſin. The recompence is in your hands; you can eſtimate the value of my ſervices, and in your virtue I reſt my hopes of reward." This ſpeech has the deſired effect; the greater part of the aſſembly ſhed tears, and all who are preſent unanimouſly proclaim him king amid repeated acclamations.

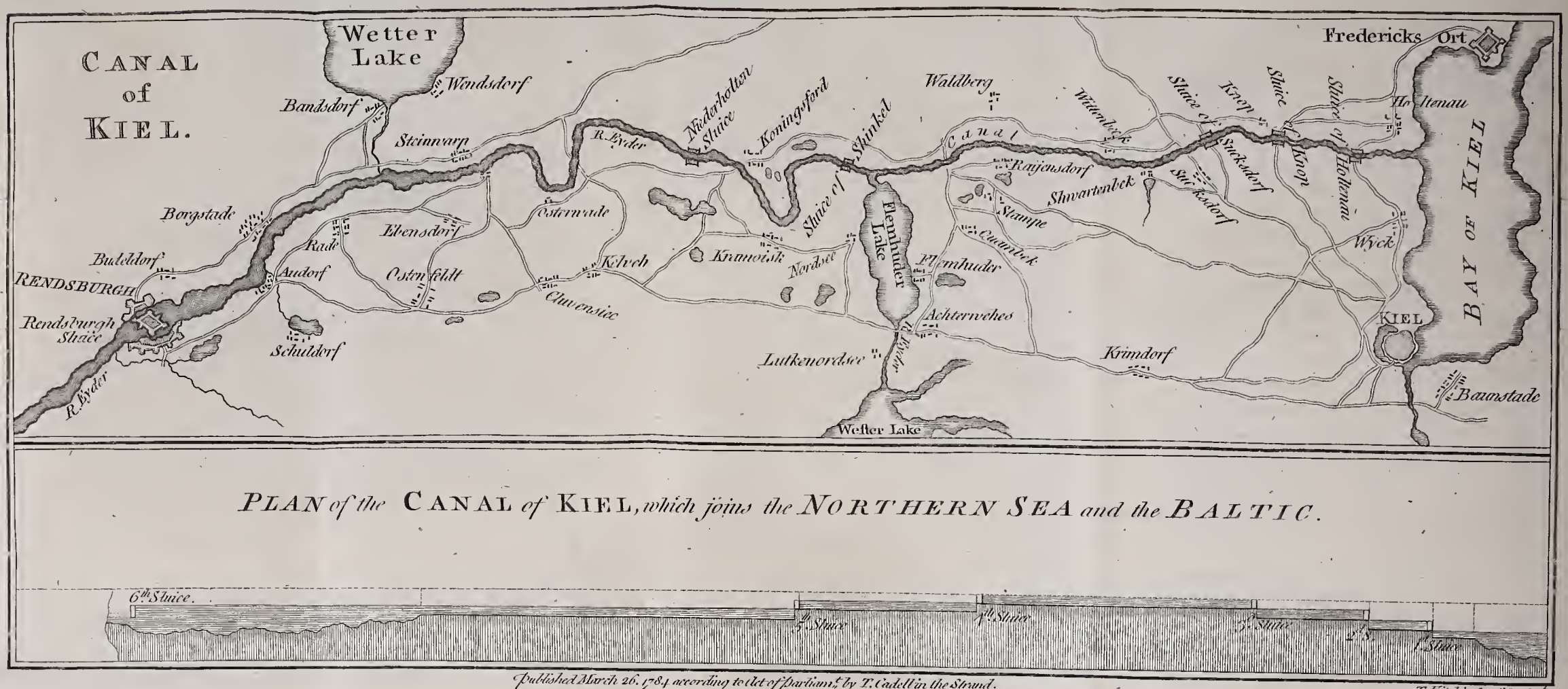
Hamlet, ſoon after his elevation, ſails to England, and orders a ſhield to be made, on which the principal actions of his life are repreſented. The king receives him with feigned demonſtrations of joy; falſely aſſures him that his daughter is dead, and recommends him to repair to Scotland as his embaſſador, and pay his addreſſes

addreſſes to queen Hermetrudra. He gives this inſidious advice with the hopes that Hamlet may periſh in the attempt; as the queen, who was remarkable for her chaſtity and cruelty, had ſuch an averſion to all propoſals of marriage, that not one of her ſuitors had eſcaped falling a ſacrifice to her vengeance. Hamlet, in oppoſition to all difficulties, performs the embaſſy, and, by the aſſiſtance of his ſhield, which inſpires the lady with a favourable opinion of his wiſdom and courage, obtains her in marriage, and returns with her to England. Informed, by the princeſs to whom he is betrothed, that her father meditates his aſſaſſination, Hamlet avoids his fate by wearing armour under his robe, puts to death the king of England, and ſails to Denmark with his two wives, where he is ſoon afterwards killed in a combat with Vigletus, ſon of Ruric. Hamlet, adds the hiſtorian, was a prince, who, if his good fortune had been equal to his deſerts, would have rivalled the Gods in ſplendour; and in his actions would have exceeded even the labours of Hercules *.

The diſtance from Elſinoor to Copenhagen is 20 miles; our route lay occaſionally by the ſide of the ſea, ſometimes through ſmall woods of

* Hic Amlethi exitus fuit; qui ſi parem naturæ atque fortunæ indulgentiam expertus fuiſſet, æquaſſet fulgore ſuperos; Herculea virtutibus opera tranſcendiſſet.

beech



Published March 26. 1784 according to Act of Parliamt. by T. Cadell in the Strand.

T. Kitchin Sen.r Sculp.r

beech and oak, and at other times through an open country riſing into acclivities: the ſoil is ſandy, mixed with loam, well cultivated, and yields all ſorts of grain. The cottages are numerous and neat, built with brick, and many of them white-waſhed. We had an excellent road, for which convenience we paid ſeveral tolls; a tax from which we had been exempted in Poland, Ruſſia, and Sweden. We reached the metropolis towards the cloſe of the evening.

Copenhagen ſtands on a ſmall promontory on the eaſtern coaſt of the Iſle of Zealand, in a flat and marſhy ſituation. It formerly belonged to the biſhop of Roſkild, and was not diſtinguiſhed by the royal reſidence until 1443, during the reign of Chriſtopher of Bavaria; ſince which period it has been gradually enlarged and beautified, and is become the capital of Denmark.

The annual liſt of births in Copenhagen being, on an average of ſeveral years, eſtimated at 2,830, and of deaths at 2,955, we may eſtimate the population at 80,000 ſouls.

Copenhagen is the beſt-built city of the north; although excelled by Peterſburgh in ſuperb edifices; yet as it contains no wooden houſes, it does not diſplay that ſtriking contraſt of meanneſs and magnificence, but in general exhibits a more uniform appearance. The city is ſurrounded towards the land with ramparts

and baſtions, a wet ditch, and a few out-works; the circumference meaſures between four and five miles. The ſtreets are well paved, with a foot-way on each ſide, which is narrow and inconvenient. The greater part of the buildings are of brick, and a few of free-ſtone brought from Germany; the houſes of the nobility are in general ſplendid, and conſtructed in the Italian ſtyle of architecture.

The royal palace is a magnificent pile of hewn ſtone, the wings and ſtables of brick ſtuccoed. It was built by Chriſtian the Sixth in ſeven years, as the inſcription informed me, without laying a ſingle tax on his ſubjects. The enormous expence may be in ſome meaſure eſtimated by the dimenſions. The front is 367 feet in length, the ſides 389, and the height 114; it has ſix ſtories, of which three are mezzonines. In the fourth ſtory are the grandeſt ſuite of apartments, both as to ſize and decoration. The concert-room is 128 feet by 38. The *Ritter Saal*, or Knight's Saloon, is remarkable for the grandeur and elegance of the proportions; it is 128 feet long, 62 broad, and 48 high; it is lighted by ſeveral cryſtal chandeliers, and many gilded urns placed on the baluſtrades of a gallery *.

* This magnificent palace was burnt in 1793.

Among

Among numerous pictures of the kings and queens of Denmark, I was ſtruck with a portrait of Chriſtian the Fourth on board a ſhip engaged with the Swediſh fleet. In the middle of the engagement the king was ſtruck by a ſplinter; two of his teeth were beat out, his ear torn, his right eye forced from the ſocket, and he was thrown on the deck with great violence. His attendants, ſuppoſing him dead, made bitter lamentations; when the king, ſuddenly recovering from ſwoon, into which he had been thrown by the agony of pain, ſtarted up, bound his wounds with his handkerchief, and continued giving his orders with great compoſure, until the Swediſh fleet retired. The painter has choſen the point of time in which the king, having recovered from his ſwoon and bound his wound, is exerting himſelf in the midſt of the action, and has happily ſucceeded in throwing great animation over the whole figure.

The royal ſtables are perhaps the moſt magnificent in Europe. The racks of one, which contains ſtalls for 48 horſes, are of copper, and the columns that divide the ſtalls are of brick ſtuccoed white. Another contains 148 ſtalls; and the racks and pillars which ſupport the roof and ſeparate the ſtalls are of Norwegian marble.

The buſy ſpirit of commerce is viſible in Copenhagen. The haven is always crowded with

merchant-ſhips, and the ſtreets are interſected by broad canals, which bring the merchandize cloſe to the warehouſes that line the quays. This city owes its principal beauty to a dreadful fire in 1728, that deſtroyed five churches and ſixty-ſeven ſtreets, which were rebuilt in the modern ſtyle. The new part of the town raiſed by the late king Frederic V. is extremely beautiful; it conſiſts of an octagon, containing four uniform and elegant buildings of hewn ſtone, and of four broad ſtreets leading to it in oppoſite directions. In the middle of the area ſtands an equeſtrian ſtatue of Frederic in bronze, as large as life, which is juſtly admired; it was caſt at the expence of the Eaſt India Company by Saly, and coſt £.80,000 ſterling.

On the 25th of March we accompanied Mr. Delaval, our miniſter, to court, and were honoured with private audiences by Chriſtian VII. the queen dowager Juliana-Maria, her ſon prince Frederic, and his conſort the princeſs Sophia-Frederica. We were deprived of the honour of paying our reſpects to the prince royal, as he was at that time indiſpoſed. During our ſtay at Copenhagen there were only two public meetings at court: the company aſſembled at ſix in the evening. At one of theſe meetings was a concert, in which a Daniſh tranſlation of Pergoleſi's *Stabat Mater*, with the original muſic,

muſic, was performed. The king afterwards ſat down to Loo with the queen dowager, prince Frederic, princeſs Sophia, count Bernſdorff the prime miniſter, and the Pruſſian embaſſador.

As our ſtay at Copenhagen was ſhort, and principally during paſſion-week, which the natives obſerve with great ſtrictneſs, we had not many opportunities of experiencing the hoſpitality of the Daniſh nobility; though they were much inclined to honour us with all thoſe marks of attention and civility which are uſually paid to ſtrangers. Among other inſtances of politeneſs, we received an invitation to an aſſembly and ſupper from count Molck, who was favourite and prime miniſter to Frederic V. The count's houſe, which ſtands in the octagon, is a magnificent building ſuperbly furniſhed. He poſſeſſes ſeveral fine pictures; his collection of foſſils, ſhells, minerals, and petrifactions, deſerves the notice of the naturaliſt: it is particularly rich in native productions of Denmark, exhibiting many fine ſpecimens of the gold, ſilver, and copper mines, from Norway, and of lava from Mount Hecla in Iceland.

Among the moſt curious collections in Copenhagen, the Royal Muſeum, or Cabinet of Rarities, merits the firſt place. This collection, which was begun by Frederic III. is depoſited

in eight apartments, and ranged in the following order: animals, ſhells, minerals, paintings, antiquities, medals, dreſſes, arms and implements of the Laplanders. The ſhort time which I employed in examining theſe apartments did not permit me to take a minute and accurate account of the principal curioſities, which the reader will find deſcribed in *Muſeum Regium Jacobæi.*

Part of Copenhagen, which is called Chriſtianſhafen, is built on the Iſle of Amak, which generally attracts the curioſity of foreigners. Amak is four miles long, and two broad, and is chiefly peopled by the deſcendants of a colony from Eaſt Frieſland, to whom the iſland was conſigned by Chriſtian II. at the requeſt of his wife Elizabeth, ſiſter of Charles V. for the purpoſe of ſupplying her with vegetables, cheeſe, and butter. From the intermarriages of theſe coloniſts with the Danes, the preſent inhabitants are chiefly deſcended; but as they wear their own dreſs, and enjoy peculiar privileges, they appear a diſtinct race from the natives. The iſland contains ſix villages, and between 3 and 4000 ſouls; it has two churches, in which the miniſters preach occaſionally in Dutch and Daniſh. The inhabitants have their own inferior tribunals; but in capital offences are amenable to the king's court of juſtice at Copenhagen. The old national

tional habit, brought by the original colony when they firſt migrated to the iſland, is ſtill in uſe among them; it reſembles the dreſs of the antient quakers, as repreſented in the pictures of the Dutch and Flemiſh painters. The men wear broad-brimmed hats, black jackets, full glazed breeches of the ſame colour, looſe at the knee, and tied round the waiſt. The women were dreſſed chiefly in black jackets and red petticoats, with a piece of blue glazed cloth bound on their heads. The iſland is laid out in gardens and paſtures, and, according to the original deſign, ſupplies Copenhagen with milk, butter, and vegetables.

During our ſecond viſit to Copenhagen in July 1784, we experienced great civility and repeated inſtances of hoſpitality from the Daniſh nobility. Among others we had the honour of dining ſeveral times with the prime miniſter Count Bernſdorf *, at his villa, about four miles from Copenhagen. The houſe, built by the late count, ſtands in a delightful ſituation on a gentle riſe, ſloping towards the ſea, backed by a ridge of hills prettily wooded, and commanding a cheerful view of the Sound, the coaſt of Sweden, Copenhagen, and the numerous veſſels ſailing to and from the capital.

* Since deceaſed.

In our way to the village we paſſed a column of Norwegian marble, erected to the memory of the late Count Bernſdorf by the peaſants of his eſtate, in gratitude for having received the gift of freedom from their beloved maſter. The pillar is ornamented with a wheat-ſheaf, a ſpade, and a pick-axe, the emblems of agriculture. It contains a Latin and Daniſh inſcription, atteſting the count's liberality, and their gratitude. *

The ſlavery of the peaſants is part of the remains of the feudal ſyſtem, which, however modified and changed in the other parts of the Daniſh conſtitution, leaves behind it that indelible mark of its former preponderancy and injuſtice. Hitherto all the attempts to aboliſh it, which have ſucceeded in Sweden, Norway, and ſeveral parts of Germany, have contributed only to rivet ſtill more ſtrongly a ſervitude, no leſs diſgraceful to the government, than prejudicial to the community. I enjoyed however great ſatisfaction in finding, that the ſpirit of juſtice and humanity, and I may add, the ſuggeſtions of ſelf-intereſt, have lately ſpread themſelves among the nobility; and that a few of them were on the point of

* Piis manibus Joh. Hartvici Erneſti, Comitis de Bernſtorff, qui arva diſcreta immunia hereditaria largiendo induſtriam opes omnia impertit in exemplum poſteritati 1767. P. S. S. grati coloni 1783.

emancipating their peaſants. And as the prince royal has turned his humanity and attention to this ſubject *, and ſeems inclined to favour any well-planned ſyſtem, which may give new life and vigour to an order of men, the moſt uſeful in the community; it is to be preſumed, that in time the prejudices againſt ſuch a ſyſtem will be removed; and that ſuch effective and prudent meaſures will be adopted by government, as may, without convulſion, reſtore to the peaſants the common rights of mankind.

We were preſent at an entertainment given by admiral Molcke, on board the Princeſs Sophia Frederica, carrying 74 guns, and 600 men, going on a cruize to the Baltic, with three other ſhips of the line. We embarked at the port, and were rowed in the captain's boat to the ſhip, where we found Count Molcke, and a large company, conſiſting of perſons of the firſt condition. From the cabin we had a delightful view of the town and dock-yard of Copenhagen; of the Daniſh navy laid up in two lines

* Since my departure from Copenhagen, the example ſet by Count Bernſtorff has been followed by the crown. "The bonds of ſervitude," to uſe the words of an intelligent Dane, "are now relaxed, and bond ſervice is limited in every part of the kingdom." —"The pleaſing reſult is viſible in almoſt every place you ſee, and in every countenance you meet." Byggé's Travels in the French Republic, Tranſlation, p. 27.

in

in the harbour; of ſeveral men of war and frigates lying at anchor near us in the road; of numerous veſſels ſailing and covering the ſurface of the ſea, which was curled by a gentle breeze; of the diſtant coaſts of Sweden, and the adjacent ſhores of Zealand, richly clothed with wood. Dinner was ſerved on deck, under a canopy of ſails and pendants; and forty perſons ſat down to a ſuperb and elegant repaſt. After drinking the healths of the king and royal family, each health accompanied with a ſalute of fifteen guns, admiral Molcke gave, in compliment to Mr. Elliott, the Engliſh envoy, who was preſent, The navy of England; and Mr. Elliott in return gave, The navy of Denmark.

Several Daniſh ſongs were ſung to the accompaniment of violins and tambours de baſque, which had a pleaſing effect. Theſe ſongs related to naval engagements, and to the honour of the Daniſh marine; the chorus was repeated by the company, and re-echoed by the whole ſhip's crew. Books containing the words were handed round, with the Daniſh on one ſide, and the Engliſh on the other. One ſong recorded the gallant behaviour of admiral Huitfield, who, in an engagement with the Swediſh fleet, finding his own ſhip on fire, grappled with two of the enemy's men of war, and blew them

up

up with his own ſhip. Another ſong in honour of their favourite hero Chriſtian the Fourth, is as popular in Denmark as "Rule, Britannia," in England. I recollect the following lines of a doggrel tranſlation in the beginning of the ſong:

King Chriſtian ſtood high near the maſt,
In clouds of ſmoke:
His ſhining ſword was working faſt,
Cleft brains and helmets firſt and laſt,
Then ſunk each Gothic hulk and maſt,
In clouds of ſmoke, &c.

In viſiting the citadel, I inquired for the cells in which Struenſee and Brandt were confined. The dungeon which ſerved as a priſon for Struenſee is on the ground-floor, fourteen feet long and twelve broad. The barrack bedſtead on which he lay is ſtill there, and the chain to which he was faſtened riveted to the wall. During his confinement he was treated with the greateſt inhumanity, and frequently deprived of common neceſſaries: he was chained ſo cloſely to the wall as ſcarcely to be able to turn himſelf; and occaſionally threatened with the torture, if he would not confeſs what his enemies dictated.

I viſited likewiſe the ſpot where Struenſee and Brandt were executed, on the 28th of March 1772. The ſcaffold was conſtructed in the middle

middle of a field, near the eaſt gate of the town; and they were conducted to the ſpot in two ſeparate carriages, through an immenſe concourſe of people. They arrived at the place of execution at eleven. Brandt firſt alighted, and mounted the ſcaffold with a ſlow ſtep and undaunted mien; heard his ſentence read, and ſaw his coat of arms torn, without expreſſing the leaſt emotion; he then prayed for a few minutes, and ſpoke a few words to the people. When the executioner approached to aſſiſt him, he ſaid to him with firmneſs, yet not without mildneſs, "Stand off, and do not preſume to touch me." Without any aſſiſtance he pulled off his peliſſe, and prepared for his fate. He firſt ſtretched out his hand, and bade the executioner do his duty, without ſhrinking from the blow, it was ſtruck off, and his head ſevered from his body almoſt in the ſame inſtant. His body was then quartered.

During this dreadful ſcene Struenſee remained at the bottom of the ſcaffold, anxiouſly expecting and dreading his own fate. His whole frame trembled when Brandt's blood guſhed from the ſcaffold; and he was ſo agitated, that he could not walk up the ſteps without help. He ſaid nothing, and permitted the executioner to aſſiſt him in taking off his cloak. Inſtead of imitating the courage and ſerenity of his fellow

ſufferer,

ſufferer, he ſtarted up ſeveral times from the block, before he gave the ſignal, drew back his hand, was ſhockingly maimed before it was cut off, and was at laſt held down by force while the excutioner beheaded him.

The environs of Copenhagen are exceedingly beautiful. The country is gently undulating, produces much corn and paſture, and is finely interſperſed with ſmall foreſts of beech and oak. The ſea views are enchanting, and the villas and country ſeats delightfully ſituated on the ſhores of the Sound.

The royal park, about four miles from the capital, is perhaps the fineſt ſpot for the natural beauty of the gently waving ſurface, and richneſs of the wood; and proves, that the nobles might lay out their grounds equal to ours in England, if they would truſt more to nature and leſs to art.

In the midſt of the park St. Helen's ſpring is a favourite ſpot, to which the nobility and gentry, and the lower claſs of people, reſort in July, as to a kind of fair. Many tents and booths are erected for the reception of the company; ſometimes the royal family make their appearance; and the common people eſteem themſelves very unfortunate, if they do not taſte the waters of the ſpring every year. The weather being fine, and the ſeaſon delightful, we roved

with

with pleaſure about the woods, enjoying the beauties of unadulterated nature, and walked to the hermitage, a building ſtanding in the moſt elevated part, and commanding an extenſive view over the Baltic, the iſle of Huen, and the coaſt of Sweden.

CHAP. 2.

Antient form of government in Denmark.—Revolution of 1660. —Change of the conſtitution from an elective and limited, to an hereditary and abſolute, monarchy.

UNTIL the middle of the laſt century the crown of Denmark was elective. The ſupreme legiſlative authority reſided in the three eſtates of the realm, the nobles, clergy, and commons, aſſembled in a diet by means of repreſentatives; the executive power was veſted in the king, and ſenate, compoſed of the principal nobles. The king was little more than preſident of the ſenate, and commander of the army; the regal prerogative being circumſcribed by a capitulation or charter of privileges, ratified by the ſovereign at his acceſſion. Although the crown was always continued in the ſame family, and uniformly conferred on the eldeſt ſon; yet the new prince was conſtrained to purchaſe his ſucceſſion to the throne by the grant of farther immunities.

Such was the ſtate of affairs until the ſingular revolution of 1660 eſtabliſhed, almoſt without the concurrence of the ſovereign, an hereditary and

and abſolute monarchy: exhibiting an inſtance, which ſtands unparalleled in the annals of hiſtory, of a people, who ſpontaneouſly renounced their freedom, and inveſted their limited governor with unbounded authority.

Frederic III. who, on the death of his father Chriſtian IV. aſcended the throne by the free election of the ſtates, ſigned a charter of rights, conſiſting of 54 articles; among which ſeveral new privileges were confirmed to the ſenate, whereby they were enabled to engroſs the whole adminiſtration of affairs. Frederic poſſeſſed in the ordinary occurrences of life a mild and equitable temper of mind, and was apparently indifferent to ambition or glory. If his dominions had not been invaded by a powerful rival, he would have ſcarcely been noticed by his contemporaries. But as, during his reign, the very being of Denmark, as a kingdom, was at ſtake, and he was called to action by the moſt imminent danger which a ſovereign could experience, he ſuddenly ſurmounted his natural apathy: his mind acquired unuſual vigour; and he exhibited proofs of courage, prudence, and perſeverance, not inferior to the moſt conſummate heroes of his time. Theſe circumſtances placed his character in an exalted point of view; while his gentleneſs and moderation prevented the umbrage which is apt to to be conceived

by

by a free people againſt their ſovereign. Thus, from being thought incapable of intereſted deſigns, and yet equal to the taſk of carrying the moſt adventurous into execution; he became, from the accidental ſituation of his affairs, the inſtrument of accompliſhing an important revolution, which totally changed the form of the Daniſh government.

When Charles Guſtavus, king of Sweden broke the treaty of Roſkild, which he had ſigned, and in 1658 appeared ſuddenly before Copenhagen at the head of a powerful army; he eſteemed himſelf ſecure of ſucceſs, and made a preſent of Zealand to admiral Wrangel. He even publicly boaſted, that he would re-unite the three crowns of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, and would then, like another Alaric, march into Italy, at the head of the Gothic nations. The internal weakneſs and civil commotions of Denmark ſeemed almoſt to juſtify theſe vaunts: the fate of the whole kingdom depended on the ſafety of Copenhagen; and yet, ſuch was the deplorable condition of the capital, that Frederic was adviſed to retire from a place which ſeemed untenable, and to eſcape, either to Holland or Norway. The fortifications had been long neglected; it contained a garriſon of only a thouſand regular troops, had not ſufficient proviſions to ſtand a ſiege, almoſt deſtitute of

every means of reſiſtance, and crouded with inhabitants and fugitives.

But Frederic, rouſed by this dangerous criſis of affairs, diſcovered at once the moſt undaunted courage; he declared his reſolution of defending his capital to the laſt extremity, and of burying himſelf under its ruins. His conduct during the ſiege anſwered theſe profeſſions; he gave his orders with calmneſs and intrepidity; he was foremoſt in all places of danger, and among the laſt who retreated.

His zeal was ſeconded by the undaunted ſpirit of his queen, Sophia Amelia, princeſs of Brunſwic Lunenburgh *, who, during the whole conteſt, was indefatigable in animating the beſieged: ſhe partook of their fatigues, rode night and day round the ramparts, and obſerved every occurrence with the vigilance of a centinel, and the coolneſs of a veteran. The preſence and activity of both ſovereigns, gave freſh vigour to the garriſon and citizens of Copenhagen: they braved every danger, and even bound themſelves, by an oath, to periſh, rather than ſurrender. Their zeal was ſtill further excited by the policy of Frederic, who extorted from the nobles an increaſe of the

* Memoires de Terlon, p. 333.

immu-

immunities of the citizens, and paſſed an edict, ſigned by himſelf and the principal ſenators, permitting them to poſſeſs lands, and enjoy all the rights of nobility. Thus animated and encouraged, the burghers formed themſelves into companies, and vied with the regular ſoldiers in ſubmitting to the rigour of military diſcipline. In a word, by their invincible ſpirit, Copenhagen held out from the 8th of Auguſt 1658, to the concluſion of the peace, on the 27th of May 1660, when the Swediſh army evacuated Zealand.

The imminent danger which had threatened the ruin of Denmark no ſooner ſubſided, than Frederic relapſed into his conſtitutional indolence; and ſeems, (if we may judge from the moſt authentic accounts) to have had but a ſmall ſhare in the ſubſequent revolution. It appears, indeed, to have been as caſual as it was ſudden: the effect only of the imperious conduct of the nobles, of the jealouſies and reſentment of the other orders, and of the high opinion which the people conceived of their king, to whom they juſtly attributed the preſervation of Copenhagen, and the ſafety of the kingdom; while they imputed to the factions of the nobles the evils which they had lately experienced.

On the ſignature of the peace a diet was ſummoned at Copenhagen, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, exhauſted

with debts, and defolated by the miſeries of war.

This diet, the laſt ever convened in Denmark, aſſembled at Copenhagen on the 8th of September 1660. The nobles, inſtead of endeavouring to conciliate the other orders by a moderate conduct, increaſed the public diſcontents by the moſt arrogant behaviour. The deputies of the clergy and commons united againſt them; and the citizens of Copenhagen (who having acquired great credit by the glorious defence of the capital, formed a conſiderable party) were highly diſguſted at their remonſtrance againſt the immunities granted by the king during the ſiege. In this temper of parties, when the neceſſary ſupplies were brought forward, the nobles propoſed an exciſe on all articles of conſumption, and expreſſed themſelves willing to ſubmit to it, though their order was by law exempted from all taxes: they accompanied this offer with a remonſtrance to the king, in which they endeavoured, not only to reclaim many obſolete privileges, but to gain freſh immunities, and introduce many other regulations which tended to diminiſh the royal prerogative, and check the riſing influence of the commons and clergy.

The propoſal of ſuch a tax, and this imprudent remonſtrance, excited great heats in the

diet: the clergy and commons contended that the offer was inſidious; as the nobles would only pay the exciſe during their continuance in the towns, but refuſe to ſubmit to it while they reſided on their eſtates. On this ground they objected to the tax on any other condition, but that of being levied equally on all ranks without reſerve or reſtriction. The nobles not only perſiſted in the plea of exemption; but even refuſed to be ſubject to it for more than three years, under pretence that every impoſt was an infringement of their privileges. Being however intimidated by the deciſive refuſal of the other deputies, they ſhifted their ground; propoſed new duties on ſtamped paper and leather, and offered, inſtead of the exciſe on conſumption, to pay a poll-tax for their peaſants. The clergy and commons at firſt approved theſe additional impoſts; but afterwards retracted, under pretence that they would not produce a ſum adequate to the exigencies of the nation. It is not certain from what cauſe this alteration of their ſentiments was derived *; whether the taxes would really have been inadequate, or were to be granted for too ſhort a time; or whether, urged by other motives, they were ſecretly deſirous of obtaining more eſſential and durable

* Mallet, p. 447.

advantages over the nobles. Probably all theſe motives operated on different perſons: the latter eſpecially ſeems to have had great influence; becauſe, in lieu of the above-mentioned duties, the deputies propoſed that the royal fiefs and domains, which the nobles excluſively poſſeſſed at a moderate rent, ſhould be farmed to the higheſt bidders. This propoſal irritated the nobles, who juſtly deemed it an infraction of their deareſt privileges; as, by the 46th article of the coronation oath taken by Frederic, the poſſeſſion of the royal fiefs was guarantied to their order. In the heat of the conteſt on this article, one of the chief ſenators imprudently threw out reproachful expreſſions againſt the commons, which raiſed a general ferment in the aſſembly; and the deputies of the clergy and commons broke up the meeting.

In this ſtruggle the friends of the court began to interpoſe. It was eaſily ſeen, that the deputies, diſguſted with the nobles, would eagerly embrace that occaſion of humbling the whole order; and no way ſeemed more likely to inſure ſucceſs than by rendering the crown hereditary, and exalting the regal prerogative on the ruin of the nobility. They never could expect that ſo favourable an opportunity ſhould again occur: the diet was aſſembled in a fortified town, the

citizens

citizens were ſtill in arms, and all of them, as well as the garriſon, devoted to the king.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to trace, at this diſtance of time, all the ſecret ſprings which actuated the deputies on this extraordinary occaſion. It only appears, from good authority, that the two perſons who had the principal ſhare in the revolution were the creatures of the court, and had, before the meeting of the diet, concerted a plan of humbling the nobility, with a confidential * ſervant of the crown: theſe perſons were Svane, biſhop of Zealand and preſident of the order of the clergy, and Nanſen, burgomaſter of Copenhagen and ſpeaker of the commons. We have no reaſon however to conclude that they intended to proceed further than to humble the ariſtocratical party, and make ſome neceſſary changes in the conſtitution; but the obſtinacy of the nobles enlarged their views, and induced the deputies not only to render the crown hereditary, but to veſt the whole power in the hands of the king.

While the deſign was in agitation, Frederic felt, or affected to feel, an almoſt total indifference to the event; and though he expreſſed

* Moleſworth ſays, with Hannibal Sehеſted, and Holberg with Gabel the king's favourite. Probably they were both in the right, as it is eaſy to ſuppoſe that both were conſulted on the occaſion.

himſelf inclined to accept the offer of hereditary ſucceſſion, if obtained by the unanimous conſent of all the eſtates; yet he refuſed to take any active part in the whole proceeding. The queen endeavoured to rouſe him from this ſupineneſs; but her influence, which was never before exerted in vain, proved now ineffectual: being not inclined, however, to follow his example, ſhe caballed with the leaders of the clergy and commons, and diſplayed that ſpirit of intrigue and daring enterprize, which had ſo long marked her character, in contraſt with the mild and paſſive acquieſcence of the king.

On the ſeceſſion of the deputies, which the obſtinacy of the nobles had provoked, the hint of rendering the crown hereditary was ſuggeſted by the biſhop of Zealand; and ſeveral partizans being gained, a numerous meeting was held at his palace, on the 6th of October, in which the ſcheme was laid open and approved. An act for declaring the crown hereditary was drawn up; and the mode of proceeding was concerted between the chiefs of the party and Gabel, the favourite of the king, who held a ſeparate conference with the biſhop and Nanſen that afternoon. During the whole night and the following day, repeated meſſages paſſed between ſome of the deputies and the emiſſaries of the queen.

On

On the morning of the 8th of October *, the biſhop of Zealand, having obtained the conſent and ſignature of the eccleſiaſtical deputies to the declaration of hereditary ſucceſſion, delivered it to Nanſen. The latter, in a moſt perſuaſive ſpeech, expatiated on the wretched ſtate of the kingdom, oppreſſive power of the nobles, and virtues of the king, and concluded with exhorting the commons to ſubſcribe the act as the only means of ſaving their country. Having firſt ſigned it himſelf, his example was followed by each deputy without one diſſenting voice.

During theſe intrigues the nobles remained in full ſecurity, and without the leaſt ſuſpicion; as the commons had, the ſame day in which they ſigned the declaration, debated on the taxes, and drawn up a remonſtrance againſt the nobles, without alluding to the ſecret tranſaction. On the 9th this remonſtrance was preſented to Frederic in form by the biſhop and Nanſen; and the commons, on returning from the palace, had a violent altercation with the ſame chief ſenator, who had before offended them, and who then threatened them with impriſonment for preſuming to approach the

* Holberg, III. p. 479.

king

king without acquainting the order of nobles; a threat which ſerved only to ſtrengthen their reſolution.

Rumours of the project had by this time reached the nobles; but they had ſcarcely aſſembled to conſider the moſt efficacious methods of defeating it *, before the deputies of the clergy and burghers entered the hall. Having taken their ſeats, Nanſen, after a ſhort ſpeech, delivered to them the declaration for rendering the crown hereditary in the family of the king. The nobles were thrown into general conſternation by ſo ſudden and deciſive a communication. Conceiving it, however, imprudent to negative the propoſal, they endeavoured to gain time; and replied accordingly, that declaration; yet a matter of ſuch conſequence deſerved the moſt mature diſcuſſion. Nanſen, perceiving the drift of this delay, anſwered, they came not to deliberate, but to act: they had already taken their reſolution; they would loſe no time in debate; if the nobles refuſed to concur, they would themſelves repair to the palace, not doubting that the king would graciouſly accept their proffered declaration. During theſe proceedings, the nobles ſecretly diſpatched a

* Probably on the 10th of October, as Mallet conjectures.

meſſage

meſſage to the king, that they were willing to render the crown hereditary in the male line of his iſſue, provided it was done with the accuſtomed formalities; a propoſal his majeſty rejected as a circumſtance not deſirable, unleſs the right of ſucceſſion was extended to the females alſo. He added, with great appearance of moderation, that he by no means wiſhed to preſcribe rules for their conduct; they were to follow the dictates of their own judgment: as for his part, he would owe every thing to their free conſent, but could not accept the offer with the limitation propoſed.

The nobles, who waited with anxiety for the return of the meſſenger, kept the buſineſs in ſuſpenſe by declining their direct aſſent to the declaration, and propoſing a further conſideration of the ſubject. The other deputies then quitted the aſſembly, and repaired in ſolemn proceſſion to the court; leaving the nobles in a ſtate of irreſolution and diſtraction.

The deputies being admitted, the biſhop of Zealand addreſſed the king on the reſolution taken by the clergy and commons; offering, in their name, to render the crown hereditary, and inveſt him with abſolute authority; adding, they were ready to ſacrifice their lives in defence of an eſtabliſhment ſo ſalutary to their country. Frederic, in reply, thanked them for their favour-

able

able intentions; but mentioned the approbation of the nobles as a neceſſary condition, though he had no doubt of their concurrence when they ſhould have had time to accompany the declaration with the neceſſary formalities: he aſſured them of his protection, promiſed a redreſs of all grievances, and diſmiſſed them with an exhortation to continue their ſittings, until they ſhould have brought their deſign to perfection, and he could receive their voluntary ſubmiſſion with due ſolemnity.

The reader will obſerve, with much ſurpriſe, that in all the public occurrences before this audience, the only affair apparently in agitation, was to change the form of government from an elective to an hereditary monarchy; no mention was made of enlarging the powers of the crown, or of the ſtill more extraordinary ſcheme of rendering the king abſolute. It is probable, if the nobles had immediately conſented to the declaration, that this ceſſion might not have taken place. Was there no medium between hereditary right and arbitrary power? or can we ſuppoſe, that, according to the ſyſtem of the Daniſh law, arbitrary power was neceſſarily implied in hereditary right? Something like this was probably the caſe; as it is hardly poſſible to conceive, that, when the deputies of the commons and clergy had voted only for the declaration,

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the biſhop, of his own accord, ſhould add the gift of unlimited authority. It often happens that people are more affected by appearances than realities. The bare mention of arbitrary power would have revolted the deputies; while the ſubſtance, being included in the popular expreſſion of hereditary right, was paſſed without reſerve.

On the abrupt departure of the deputies, the nobles could not agree what plan to purſue in this alarming criſis. They were not, indeed, unanimous in their motives of oppoſition, being divided into three principal parties *: the firſt conſiſted of thoſe who were devoted to the court, and favoured the declaration of the commons; the ſecond, of thoſe who were conſcious that ſome change in the conſtitution was requiſite, but uncertain how far to proceed; the third, the moſt conſiderable in number, was compoſed of thoſe who were determined to aſſert their own privileges to the laſt extremity, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſe the leaſt alteration. It was no wonder, therefore, that they came to no reſolution; but poſtponed their final determination to the meeting in the afternoon. While they were thus wavering, the court and popular party took the neceſſary precautions to force them to a concurrence. It was feared that the enterprize

* Holberg.

might

might fail of ſucceſs, ſhould the nobles quit Copenhagen, and break up the diet, on the juſt pretence that it was held in a fortified town, under awe of a garriſon devoted to the court. Indeed ſeveral had already made their eſcape, and others ſeemed inclined to follow their example. In conſequence of theſe apprehenſions, the king iſſued orders to ſhut the gates; and this ſpirited meaſure had ſuch an inſtant effect on the nobles, that, abandoning all further reſiſtance, they diſpatched deputies to the court, announcing their willingneſs to concur with the commons *.

Accordingly, on the 16th of October, the eſtates annulled in the moſt ſolemn manner, the capitulation, or charter, ſigned by the king at his acceſſion, abſolved him from his engagements, and cancelled all the limitations impoſed on his ſovereignty. The whole was finally cloſed by the public ceremony of doing homage, and taking the new oath, which was performed on the 18th. On that day ſeveral ſcaffolds were erected before the palace, adorned with ſcarlet cloth and tapeſtry, and furniſhed with rows of benches: on an elevated platform were placed two chairs of ſtate, under a canopy of velvet, for the king and queen; theſe ſcaffolds communicated with the palace by an open gallery. At

* Holberg.

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the appointed time, the citizens of Copenhagen, forming twelve companies, were drawn up on each ſide of the gallery; the garriſon ſurrounded the platform, and the avenues leading to it; while the regiment of guards ſecured the rear. At mid-day the king and queen, attended by the royal family, preceded by the nobles, and accompanied by the officers of ſtate, repaired in ſolemn proceſſion, amid drums and trumpets, to the platform; and when the nobles, the deputies of the clergy, and commons, had taken their places, the chancellor proclaimed *:

"Since it has pleaſed the Almighty, by the unanimous and voluntary reſolution of the ſtates, that this kingdom ſhould be rendered hereditary in the perſon of his Majeſty our Lord the King, and of his poſterity male and female; his Majeſty, after thanking the ſtates for this proof of their affection and zeal, not only promiſes to all his good and faithful ſubjects, to govern them as a Chriſtian and merciful prince ought to do; but alſo to eſtabliſh a form of government, under which they ſhall be ſecure of enjoying the ſame advantages under his ſucceſſors; and as this unanimous reſolution of the ſtates equires a new oath of allegiance, his Majeſty diſcharges the ſtates from all thoſe oaths which they had formerly taken, aſſuring each perſon

* Mallet.

in

in particular of his royal favour and protection." After which all perſons who were preſent took the new oath of allegiance.

The revolution being thus accompliſhed, a new form of government was promulgated, under the title of The Royal Law of Denmark. It conſiſts of 40 articles; the moſt remarkable are the following*:

" The hereditary kings of Denmark and Norway ſhall be in effect, and ought to be eſteemed by their ſubjects, the only ſupreme head on earth; they ſhall be above all human laws, and ſhall acknowledge, in all eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs, no higher power than God alone. The king ſhall enjoy the right of making and interpreting the laws, of abrogating, adding to, and diſpenſing with them. He may alſo annul all the laws which either he or his predeceſſors ſhall have made, excepting this Royal Law, which muſt remain irrevocable, and be conſidered as the fundamental law of the ſtate. He has the power of declaring war, making peace, impoſing taxes, and levying contributions of all ſorts," &c. &c.

Then follow the regulations for the order of ſucceſſion, the regency in caſe of minority, for the majority of the king, for the maintenance of the royal family; and, after enumerating all

* Lettres ſur le Dannemarc. Mallet.

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the poſſible prerogatives of regal uncircumſcribed authority, as if ſufficient had not yet been laid down, it is added in the 26th article: "All that we have hitherto ſaid of power and eminence, and ſovereignty, and if there is any thing further which has not been expreſsly ſpecified, ſhall all be comprized in the following words: The king of Denmark and Norway ſhall be the hereditary monarch, and endued with the higheſt authority, inſomuch that all that can be ſaid and written to the advantage of a chriſtian, hereditary, and abſolute king, ſhall be extended under the moſt favourable interpretation to the hereditary king or queen of Denmark and Norway," &c. &c.*

On reviewing the principal circumſtances which led to this revolution, we cannot but remark, that the nobles were the victims of their own imprudence and obſtinacy. Had they yielded in due time, they might have ſecured many of their privileges; but not complying until their concurrence was ſcarcely neceſſary, they could not command any compenſation for what they could not retain, and ſurrendered with the

* The reader will find an abridged extract of the ſeveral articles in Moleſworth, p. 186; and a French tranſlation in Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, p. 118; which tranſlation is alſo inſerted in Mallet's Hiſt. de Dannemarc, vol. III. p. 475.

moſt evident reluctance. The deputies of the clergy and of the towns were hurried away by their reſentment againſt that order, whoſe tyranny they had long experienced, and whoſe future aſcendency they dreaded; and they were ſo warmly animated by their admiration of the king, that they thought no ſacrifice too great which could aſſure him of their confidence, and teſtify their gratitude. Strange infatuation! that they ſhould diſcover no means of humbling their oppreſſors, and ſecuring their own immunities, without the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute government! Might they not have looſened the king's ſhackles, without tearing them off? The reſerve of the legiſlative power, and right of taxation in the three eſtates, would ſufficiently have ſecured the freedom of the people, as well againſt the encroachments of the crown, as againſt the inſolence of a proud nobility. But the voice of reaſon is ſeldom heard amid the tumult of public animoſities and the uproar of faction.

"Thus this great affair," concludes Lord Moleſworth, "was finiſhed; and the kingdom of Denmark, in four days' time, changed, from an eſtate little differing from ariſtocracy, to as abſolute a monarchy as any is at preſent in the world." But theſe expreſſions have been conſidered

conſidered as too ſtrong by ſeveral of the native hiſtorians; and an Engliſh author*, who wrote againſt his account of Denmark by deſire of the Daniſh miniſter, has contradicted his concluſion; becauſe Frederic III. did not abuſe his power, and becauſe he confirmed the privileges of the different orders. But ſurely when the ſovereign, according to the expreſſions of the Royal Law, is declared "independent upon earth, acknowledging no higher power than God; when he has an unlimited authority to make, alter, repeal, and diſpenſe with laws; when he alone can make peace and declare war; form alliances and levy taxes; when, in a word, he enjoys all the rights and prerogatives which an hereditary, abſolute, deſpotic king can enjoy;" what ſignify privileges which he can annul at pleaſure? of what force are laws which he can repeal with a word? Allowing, what is true, that the kings of Denmark have ſeldom abuſed their authority; and without pretending to deny that the tyranny of the nobles had riſen to an exceſſive height; yet we ſurely may conclude, that it would have been happier for the kingdom, had the power

* King's Animadverſions on a pretended Account of Denmark, in which the author animadverts upon ſeveral miſrepreſentations of Lord Moleſworth.

of the crown been duly circumſcribed, while the rights of the nobles were qualified, not aboliſhed; and the people continued ſubjects of a limited monarchy, not enſlaved to arbitrary dominion.

CHAP. 3.

Remarks on the Population.—Finances.—Army.—Navy.—Church Eſtabliſhment in Denmark.

THE following table exhibits the population in the Daniſh dominions.

			No. of inhabitants.	
Denmark.	Dioceſe of Zealand, including the iſles of Zealand, Moen, and Bornholm - - -	Iſlands.	283,466	785,590
	Dioceſe of Funen, including the iſles of Funen, Langeland, Lolland, and Falſter - -		143,988	
	Dioceſe of Aarhuus - - -	Jutland	117,942	
	Ditto Riber - -		99,923	
	Ditto Aalborg - -		80,872	
	Ditto Viborg - - -		59,399	
Iſles of Feroe - - - - - - -				4,754
Norway.	Dioceſe of Agerhuus - - -		215,043	623,141
	Ditto Chriſtianſand - - -		113,024	
	Ditto Berghen - - -		130,352	
	Ditto Drontheim - - -		164,722	
Iceland.	Dioceſe of Schalholt - -		34,216	46,201
	Ditto Holun - - -		11,985	
Duchy of Sleſwick - - - - - -				243,605
Duchy of Holſtein belonging to the king - -				134,665
Duchy of Gluckſburgh - - - - -				10,072
Diſtrict of Kiel - - - - - - -				75,000
Number of ſouls in the Daniſh dominions -				* 1,923,928

* Since this was written, the population has increaſed, and may now be eſtimated at 2,300,000.

The revenues of Denmark are principally derived from the cuſtoms, duties on exports and imports, exciſe on proviſions and liquors, poll-tax *, tax on ranks, on places, penſions, and perquiſites, on marriages †, land-tax, exciſe, quit-rents of the royal demeſnes, licences of public-houſes, privilege of diſtilling ſpirits, for hunting and ſhooting in the royal manors, leaſes on farms and ſaw-mills, profits of the mines, ſtamped paper, duty on ſnuff, on cards, &c. &c.

* The poll-tax takes place only in Denmark: it was at firſt laid on the inhabitants of Norway, but has been aboliſhed, and another impoſt ſubſtituted in its room; the peaſants, who are all free in that kingdom, having conſidered it as a badge of ſlavery. The towns of Altona and Bornholm are alſo exempted from it, on the payment of an annual compenſation.

† The tax on marriages, as I am informed, has been aboliſhed ſince my departure from Denmark; a tax which no wiſe legiſlature would ever impoſe; and if impoſed by inadvertence, would take the firſt opportunity of repealing, as highly detrimental to the real intereſts of the community. This tax was as equitably laid on in Denmark as ſo injudicious an impoſt was capable of being diſtributed, the peaſants and lower claſs of people being exempted. —"La portion la plus nombreuſe," ſays the author of Les Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, "et la plus pauvre de la ſocieté, les payſans, les matelots, et les ſoldats, n'y ſont pas aſſujettis: mais ſi le mariage doit être encouragé par toutes les voies poſſibles, à plus forte raiſon mérite-t-il d'être libre de toute charge. Celle qui ſe paye ici eſt ſi modique, qu'elle ne forme pas un grand obſtacle à la population." p. 165.

Revenues.

Revenues.

Land-tax - - - - -	£.800,00
* Sound duties - - -	100,000
Poll-tax and other taxes -	300,000
† Extraordinary contributions	200,000
	£.1,400,000

* The importance of the Sound duties to the government of Denmark, may be inferred from the number of veſſels which paſſed the Sound in 1782:

Engliſh - - -	1264	From Dantzic - -	328
Daniſh - - -	1634	Lubec - - -	112
Swediſh - - -	2121	Bremen - - -	240
Ruſſian - - -	158	Hamburgh - - -	50
Dutch - - -	16	Roſtock - - -	89
Portugueſe - -	38	Venice - - -	3
Pruſſian - - -	1907	Auſtrian Netherlands -	505
			8465

In 1800, 9048 veſſels entered the Sound; and in ſome years even 12,000.

† Among the extraordinary contributions is the tax on honours and rank, laid in the following proportion:—Perſons of the firſt rank pay annually 80 rixdollars, or 16*l.*; of the ſecond 14*l.*; of the third 8*l.*; fourth 6*l.*; fifth 3*l.* 4*s.*; ſixth 3*l.*; ſeventh 2*l.* 8*s.*; eighth 1*l.* 12*s.*; and ninth 1*l.* 4*s.* All the places and penſions are rated in the following proportion:—Penſions not leſs than 400 rixdollars, or 80*l.* and upwards, pay 10 per cent.; from 70*l.* to 80*l.* 8 per cent.; from 60*l.* to 70*l.* 7 per cent.; from 50*l.* to 60*l.* 5 per cent.; from 40*l.* to 50*l.* 4 per cent.; from 30*l.* to 40*l.* 3 per cent; and from 20*l.* to 30*l.* 2 per cent.

Expenditure in 1784.

Civil liſt - - -	£. 400,000
Army - - -	400,000
Navy - - -	200,000
Payment of debts - -	200,000
Penſions - - -	160,000
Jointure of the queen-dowager -	16,000
Income of prince Frederic -	8,000
	* £. 1,384,000

The public debt in 1785 amounted to £.3,600,000, of which in time of peace about £.200,000 is annually liquidated. Lately however the liquidation of the debt owing to the ſubjects has been made in bank-notes. Although this meaſure ſaves to the nation the payment of the intereſt of 4 per cent. in money, yet it too much promotes the increaſe of paper currency. The bank-notes are not exchanged at Hamburgh, except under a diſcount from 16 to 20 per cent. There is but little ſpecie in the country; that collected from the Sound duties being chiefly appropriated to the intereſt of the foreign debt, and the appointments of perſons

* Since this was written, the revenue and expenditure have been ſomewhat augmented, and the debt conſiderably decreaſed.

employed

employed in Holſtein; and the produce of the ſilver mines at Kongſberg ſcarcely exceeds £.50,000 per annum.

The army of Denmark is compoſed, 1. of the troops of Denmark and Holſtein; and, 2. of Norway.

1. The forces of Denmark and Holſtein are divided into, 1. Regulars; 2. National or militia. Theſe forces (the foot and horſe guards excepted, who are all regulars) are not ſeparated, as in our army, into diſtinct regiments.

Before the late augmentation, every regiment of infantry, when complete, conſiſted of 26 officers, and 1632 privates, divided into ten companies of fuſileers, and two of grenadiers. Of theſe 1632 privates, 480, who are chiefly foreigners enliſted in Germany, are regulars. The remaining 1152 are the national militia, or peaſants, who reſide on the eſtates of the landholders, each eſtate furniſhing a certain number in proportion to its value. Theſe national troops are occaſionally exerciſed in ſmall corps on Sundays and holidays; and are embodied once every year, for about 17 days, in their reſpective diſtricts. By an addition of 10 men to each company, a regiment of infantry was increaſed to 1778, including officers.

The cavalry is on the ſame footing; each regiment conſiſting of 17 officers, including ſerjeants

jeants and corporals, 565 privates, divided into five ſquadrons. Of theſe about 260 are regular, and the remainder national troops. The regiments of foot and horſe guards are regulars; the former is compoſed of 21 officers, and 465 men, in five companies; and the latter of 7 officers, and 154 men, in two ſquadrons.

2. The forces of Norway are all national troops or militia, excepting the two regiments of Sudenfield and Nordenfield; and as the peaſants are free, the forces are levied in a different manner from thoſe of Denmark. Norway is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, each of which furniſhes a ſoldier. All the peaſants are, at their birth, regiſtered for the militia; and the firſt on the liſt ſupplies the vacancy for the diſtrict to which he belongs. After ſerving from ten to fourteen years, they are admitted among the invalids; and, when they have attained the ſeniority of that corps, receive their diſmiſſion. Theſe troops are not continually under arms, but are occaſionally exerciſed, like the national forces of Denmark. A fixed ſtipend is aſſigned to the officers, nearly equal to that of the officers in the regulars; but the common ſoldiers do not receive pay, except when in actual ſervice, or performing their annual manœuvres.

The army is ſupplied with officers by the Academy

Academy of Land Cadets, inſtituted by Frederic IV. where 74 cadets are inſtructed in the military ſciences at the royal expence. According to a liſt of the Daniſh army printed in the Appendix, the total number of troops conſiſted, in 1785, of 66,909.

Navy. From their inſular ſituation, the Danes have always excelled as a maritime people. In the earlier ages, when piracy was an honourable profeſſion, they were a race of pirates, and iſſued from the Baltic to the conqueſt of England and Normandy. And though, ſince the improvement of navigation by the invention of the compaſs, other nations have riſen to a greater degree of naval eminence; ſtill, however, the Danes, inhabiting a cluſter of iſlands, and poſſeſſing a large tract of ſea-coaſt, are well verſed in maritime affairs, and are the moſt numerous, as well as the moſt experienced ſailors of the North. During my ſtay at Copenhagen I viſited the dock, and inſpected, with great attention, the fleet at anchor in the harbour.

The expence of building the hulk of each ſhip amounted to £.200 per gun, and to £.1000 when the veſſel is completely rigged, and ready to ſail, with four months' proviſions. The greater part of the oak is procured from Germany by contract with the king of Pruſſia*. All the

* Holſtein produces oaks, but not a ſufficient quantity; and they are preſerved in caſe of extreme neceſſity.

cannon,

cannon, ſhot, anchors, and iron-work, are caſt in Norway. The Danes procure flax, hemp, and maſts from Ruſſia, and pitch and tar from Sweden; they have manufactories of cordage and ſails, but not ſufficient for the uſe of the fleet: the remainder is obtained from Ruſſia and Holland.

The greater part of the Daniſh navy is ſtationed in the harbour of Copenhagen, which lies within the fortifications: the depth of water being only 20 feet, the ſhips have not their lower tier of guns on board, but take them in when they get out of port. Beſide large magazines, each veſſel has a ſeparate ſtorehouſe, on the water's edge, oppoſite to which ſhe is moored when in harbour, and may by this means be inſtantly equipped. The number of regiſtered ſeamen is 14,600, divided into two claſſes; the firſt compriſes thoſe inhabiting the coaſts, who are allowed to engage in the ſervice of merchant-ſhips trading to any part of the world. Each receives 8*s.* annually from the crown as long as he ſends a certificate of his being alive; but is ſubject to recal in caſe of war. The ſecond comprehends the fixed ſailors, who are conſtantly in the employ of the crown, and amount to about 4000, ranged in four diviſions, or 40 companies: they are ſtationed at Copenhagen for the ordinary ſervice of the navy, and work in the dock-yard. Each, when not at ſea, receives 8*s.* per month, beſide a quantity of flour and

other

other proviſions; every two years a complete ſuit of clothes, and every year breeches, ſtockings, ſhoes, and a cap. Some are lodged in barracks. When they ſail, their pay is augmented to 20 *s.* per month. The marine artillery conſiſts of 800 men, in four diviſions.

In 1779, the navy conſiſted of 58 ſhips of the line, including 9 of fifty guns and one of 44, and 20 frigates; but if we except thoſe which are condemned, and thoſe which are allotted only for parade, we cannot eſtimate the fleet ſo high as 25 ſhips of the line, and 15 frigates, fit for ſervice: a number, however, fully adequate to the ſituation of Denmark; and, if we include the excellence of the ſailors, it muſt be eſteemed as complete a navy as any in the North *.

A ſhip of 90 guns, with its full complement, carries 850 men, of 70 guns 700, of 64 guns 600, of 50 guns 450, and a frigate of 36 guns 250. Moſt part of this fleet is generally moored at Copenhagen, except four or five ſhips of the line in the ports of Norway, a frigate ſtationed

* The author of the Voyage de Deux François, gives the ſtate of the Daniſh navy in 1791. It differs little, as to the number, from the liſt in the Appendix to this volume; and conſiſts of 1 ſhip of 90 guns; 2 of 80; 10 of 74; 5 of 70; 6 of 64; 3 of 60; and 3 of 50; beſides 5 old men of war, with 18 frigates from 42 to 20 guns. Of this number 12 ſhips of the line, and 7 frigates were built ſince 1774.—Voyage de Deux François, vol. I. p. 84.

off

off Elſinoor, another lying off the iſle of Funen, and a ſmaller veſſel on the Elbe, beſide a frigate or two which annually make a cruize.

In 1779, the year of the armed neutrality, the northern powers ſent out different armaments; that of Denmark, which was fitting out in the ſpring, conſiſted of ten ſhips of the line, four frigates, and two ſloops of 20 guns; and the expence of the equipment was chiefly ſupplied by an additional duty of one per cent. laid on all imports, and half per cent. on exports. For manning this fleet 1000 fixed ſailors were ſelected, 3500 regiſtered from the country, and 1000 marines.

The chief nurſery * for naval officers is the Academy of Marine Cadets, inſtituted by Frederic IV. in 1701. The foundation is for 60 cadets, who are maintained and inſtructed in the theory of navigation at the expence of the crown. Every year they make a cruize on board a frigate. Beſide the original number, other youths are admitted, under the name of volunteers, at their own expence.

The eſtabliſhed religion of Denmark is the Lutheran. The hierarchy conſiſts of 12 biſhops, or ſuperintendants; ſix in Denmark, four in Norway, and two in Iceland. There is no

* Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, p. 10.

archbiſhop;

archbiſhop; but the biſhop of Zealand, who is firſt in rank, and the biſhop of Aggerhuus, are metropolitans.

The annual revenues of the ſees are: In Denmark: Zealand £.1000; Funen £.760; Aarhuus £.600; Aalborg £.400; and Ripan £.400. In Norway: Chriſtiana, or Aggerhuus, £.400; Chriſtianſand £.600; Berghen £.400; and Drontheim £.400. In Iceland: Skalholt £.150; and Holun £.150. Theſe two laſt biſhopricks, although far inferior in nominal value to the former, are, if we take into conſideration the cheapneſs of living in Iceland, perhaps equal in real profits to the largeſt of the others.

The inferior clergy are provoſts or archdeacons, pariſh-prieſts, and chaplains. Each dioceſe is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, of which the provoſts have the inſpection, and each diſtrict into pariſhes. A large pariſh, beſide the principal church, has one or more chapels of eaſe. The pariſh-prieſts receive their ſalaries principally in glebe, tithes, and ſurplice fees, and in ſome places from the voluntary contributions of the pariſhioners. The profits vary in the different parts, according to the cheapneſs of proviſions and other incidental circumſtances. In Denmark the livings ſeldom exceed £.400, or fall ſhort of £.60 per annum, Jutland excepted, in which peninſula there are a few ſcarcely worth

worth £.20. In Norway the higheſt may be rated at £.200, and the loweſt at £.60. In Iceland ſome pariſhes ſcarcely bring in £.3 or £.4 a year. A clergyman's widow uſually receives the whole profit of her huſband's cure for the year immediately following his deceaſe, and a penſion from his ſucceſſor, amounting to the eighth of the annual income.

CHAP. 4.

Univerſity of Copenhagen.—Royal Academy of Sciences.—Royal Society for the improvement of Northern hiſtory and languages.—Latin ſchools in the Daniſh dominions.—Reſearches into the origin and progreſs of Icelandic literature.—Flora Danica.—Oeder and Muller.—Regenfuſs on ſhells, &c. &c.

COPENHAGEN contains, among other literary inſtitutions, an Univerſity, and an Academy of Sciences. The univerſity was founded in 1479, by Chriſtian I. and has been augmented and amply endowed by his ſucceſſors; amongſt whom Chriſtian VI. was the greateſt benefactor. Under that monarch the univerſity was newly modeled, and ſeveral regulations eſtabliſhed, which were calculated for the encouragement and diffuſion of learning. It has a conſiderable fund; the profeſſors have liberal ſalaries, and many ſtudents are inſtructed gratis.

The Royal Academy of Sciences * owes its inſtitution to the zeal of ſix literati, whom Chriſ-

* Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, vol. II. p. 53. The count of Holſtein was the firſt preſident; and the ſix perſons who firſt formed the deſign, were John Gram, Joachim Frederic Ramus, Chriſtian Louis Scheid, Marc Woldikey, Eric Pontopidan, and Bernhard Moelman. See Scripta a Soc. Haf. Edita. Vol. I.

tian VI. in 1742, ordered to arrange his cabinet of medals. Theſe perſons, occaſionally meeting for that purpoſe, extended their deſigns; aſſociated others who were eminent in ſeveral branches of ſcience, and forming a literary ſociety, employed themſelves in examining and explaining the hiſtory and antiquities of their country. The count of Holſtein warmly patronized the ſociety, and at his recommendation Chriſtian VI. took it under his protection, called it the Royal Academy of Sciences, endowed it with a fund, and ordered the members to join to their former purſuits, natural hiſtory, phyſics, and mathematics. In conſequence of the royal favour, the members engaged with freſh zeal in their purſuits; and the academy publiſhed many volumes of tranſactions in the Daniſh language, ſome of which have been tranſlated into Latin.

About the ſame period a ſociety for the improvement of northern hiſtory and languages was inſtituted by a few perſons, at the head of whom was Langebek, ſince greatly diſtinguiſhed for his hiſtorical publications. Theſe perſons contributed to a collection of manuſcripts, books, coins, and other literary curioſities, and even advanced a ſum of money to ſupport the expence of the eſtabliſhment. Many new members being admitted, Chriſtian

VI.

VI. with his uſual zeal for letters, conſtituted it, in 1746, a Royal Society, and aſſigned an apartment in the palace of Charlottenburgh for the place of meeting. This Society has proved itſelf not unworthy of the royal protection; having given to the world ſeveral publications, containing hiſtorical details, titles, documents, diplomas, rare manuſcripts, and charts, which tend to throw conſiderable light on the annals of Denmark.

Beſide the univerſities of Copenhagen and Kiel, there is an academy at Soroe, two gymnaſia at Odenſee and Altona, and a ſeminary for Laplanders at Berghen in Norway. There are various Latin ſchools maintained at the expence of the crown: 19 in Denmark Proper, 4 in Norway, 11 in Schleſwick, 16 in Holſtein, and 2 in Iceland. The largeſt ſchools have a *rector*, or upper-maſter, a *corrector*, or lower-maſter, and two or three *collegæ ſcholæ*, or aſſiſtants: the ſmalleſt have only a rector. The ſalaries of the maſters vary from £. 60 to £. 200 a year. Each pariſh is alſo provided with two or three ſchools for the Daniſh tongue; where children are inſtructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Theſe country ſchool-maſters have in general a ſalary of about £. 12 per annum, a houſe, and a few other advantages.

I muſt alſo mention two ſchools at Copenha-

gen for the children of the nobility and gentry, who are unable to bear the expence of a liberal education; one for boys, and the other for females. The ſchool for boys is under the direction of profeſſor Treſchow, chaplain of the garriſon-church at Copenhagen, a gentleman of conſiderable erudition, who, conſidering it as an act of charity, receives no recompence for his trouble. An inſpector has £. 60 per annum. The day-ſcholars pay only £. 6 a year, and the boarders £. 20: they learn hiſtory, geography, and arithmetic, are inſtructed in the articles of religion, and have maſters for the German, French, and Engliſh languages.

In general the Daniſh literati have particularly turned their reſearches to the hiſtory and antiquities of the North; on which ſubjects many curious works have been printed, and more are preparing for public inſpection. Among thoſe who have greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this branch of learning, muſt be mentioned the names of Meurſius, Holberg, Olaus Wormius, Pontopidan; and lately thoſe of Langebek, Schoening*, and Suhm.

Among

* Langebek, who, among other lerned publications, has put forth, "Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi," printed at the king's expence, was a native of Jutland, and born in 1710; and, after a life devoted to the purſuits of learning, died about 1776.

Schoening,

Among the performances lately printed on theſe topics, thoſe in the Icelandic tongue deſerve particular notice; as they tend to throw conſiderable light on the antiquities, hiſtory, and mythology of the northern nations; Iceland being in the remote ages, while Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were in a ſtate of perpetual warfare, the repoſitory of Northern literature. On obſerving ſuch a number of Icelandic manuſcripts as are contained in the Daniſh libraries, I was greatly aſtoniſhed to find that Iceland, conſidered by the antients as the *Ultima Thule*, or the extremity of the world, and by us as ſcarcely habitable, abounded in learning and ſcience, at a time when great part of Europe was involved in darkneſs.

Hiſtory does not aſcertain the firſt population of Iceland; when occupied by a colony of Norwegians in the latter end of the 9th century, it contained but few inhabitants, whoſe anceſtors were ſuppoſed to have emigrated from

Schoening, the learned editor of Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſtoria, and many other intereſting works, was born at Schatnas in Norway, in 1722, and died in 1778. The curious reader, who is deſirous of further information on this ſubject, will find an ample detail of the lives and writings of theſe two indefatigable antiquaries, in the Prefaces to the 4th and 5th volumes of the Scriptores Rerum Danicarum, which publication is continued by Mr. Suhm, with the ſame diligence and accuracy that diſtinguiſhed the judicious Langebek.

England or Ireland; but whoſe number was inadequate to reſiſt the invaders. Afterwards other emigrants landing from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the original inhabitants were loſt amid the ſwarm of new ſettlers, who introduced the worſhip of Thor and Odin, and all the rites and cuſtoms which prevailed among the nations of the neighbouring continent. Their language was the old Gothic or Teutonic, the vernacular tongue of the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, which on account of their inſular ſituation, was preſerved pure for a conſiderable time. The alphabet was compoſed of the Runic characters, only ſixteen in number; yet to theſe Icelanders, we are indebted for almoſt all the hiſtorical monuments of the northern nations now remaining. From them ſprung the Scalds, thoſe antient bards who have tranſmitted, in their hiſtorical poems, the principal events which happened in theſe remote quarters of the world, from the arrival of Odin to the introduction of Chriſtianity; a period of barbariſm and ignorance, which, without their labours, had been totally unknown to poſterity. Although theſe Scaldic odes blend occaſionally improbable narratives with hiſtorical events; yet, as intelligent critics may ſeparate facts from fable, and truth from fiction, and being the only ſources of information relative to the early affairs of the North,

North, they muſt be conſidered as valuable monuments of antiquity. The recital alſo of theſe compoſitions, at public entertainments, before the princes whoſe deeds they celebrated, and who, as well as many other perſons preſent, were well acquainted with the ſubject of the poem, affords a collateral proof of their authenticity *.

Some of theſe odes were written in Runic characters †, the far greater part, however, were only conſigned to memory; but on the introduction of Chriſtianity into Iceland, in the latter

* Snorro Sturleſon, who drew from theſe Scaldic Odes many materials for his Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, thus ſpeaks of them:

"Præcipue carmina ſumus ſecuti, quæ coram ipſis principibus aut eorum filiis ſunt decantata, vera reputantes omnia, quæ iſtis in carminibus de eorum geſtis aut bellis memoriæ ſunt prodita. More quidem Skaldis eſt receptum, præcipue laudare, cui miniſtrant. Aſt nemo facile auderet, coram ipſo principe, laudes et facta cantare, quæ tam ipſe quam alii præſentes ſcirent mera eſſe figmenta. Hoc dedecori non laudi eſſet." See Preface to Schoening's Edition of Snorro Sturlenſis, p. 12. note.

† "Though we have no reaſon to believe they were cut upon ſtones, as was practiſed among us (no Runic ſtones having been found there, whoſe age reaches to the times of paganiſm) they uſed, however, to ſcratch them on their bucklers, and ſometimes on their ceilings and walls; and the *Laxdaela Saga* makes mention of one Olof of Hiardarhult, who had a large houſe built, on the beams and rafters of which remarkable ſtories are ſaid to have been marked, in the ſame manner as Thorkil Hake cut an account of his own deeds on his bedſtead and chair." Letters on Iceland, p. 158.

end of the ninth century *, the Runic letters were exchanged for the Roman alphabet: ſchools were founded; the love of ſcience, which had in ſome degree maintained itſelf, even when the inhabitants were in a ſtate of paganiſm, revived with freſh vigour, antient poems were collected, many chronicles digeſted into a regular form, and the traditions of pagan theology reſcued from oblivion. The Icelanders poſſeſſed ſeveral hiſtorians, long before a ſingle annaliſt appeared among the nations from whom they were deſcended. Their authors Iſlief, Are, and Sæmund, who flouriſhed in the 11th century, preceded Saxo-Grammaticus and Sueno, the earlieſt of the Daniſh, Swediſh, or Norwegian writers.

It would be an intereſting ſpeculation in the theory of mankind, to aſcertain, "how it came o paſs, that a people, disjoined from the reſt of the world, few in number, depreſſed by poverty,

* In the Kriſtni Saga, the introduction of Chriſtianity into Iceland is thus related: "Thorwaldus, a perſon of ſome diſtinction in Iceland, the inhabitants of which were all idolators, happening to travel through Saxony, commenced acquaintance with a certain biſhop, whoſe name was Frederic; and being inſtructed by him in the Chriſtian doctrines, was baptized. He then prevailed upon the biſhop to return with him to Iceland, in order to convert the natives to Chriſtianity. And as the biſhop was ignorant of the language, Thowaldus, receiving inſtruction, preached to the people, and many were baptized. This event, which laid the firſt foundation of the Goſpel in Iceland, happened in the year 980." See Kriſtni Saga, p. 3, &c.

and

and ſituated in ſo unfavourable a climate, ſhould be capable, in thoſe dark ages, of manifeſting ſuch a taſte for literature. Were we better informed of certain particulars relating to the ſtate of the North during thoſe remote ages, we might poſſibly find the cauſe of this phænomenon, either in the poverty of the inhabitants of Iceland, which drove them to ſeek their fortunes in the neighbouring countries; or in the ſucceſs of their firſt bards at foreign courts, which excited their emulation, and at the ſame time prepoſſeſſed ſtrangers in their favour; or, laſtly, in the nature of their republican government, in which the talent of oratory, and the reputation of ſuperior ſenſe and capacity, are the direct roads to dignity, reſpect, and preferment *." To theſe cauſes may perhaps be joined the political tranquillity of Iceland; amid the civil commotions that convulſed the neighbouring nations, the inhabitants had ſufficient leiſure for literary occupations; and ſome may be induced to add the nature of their climate, which obliged them to ſeek for ſome relief againſt the tediouſneſs of long nights and continued darkneſs †.

* Northern Antiquities, vol. I. p. 392.

† Ipſi in defoſſis ſpecubus ſecura ſub altâ.
Otia agunt terrâ ——
Hic noctem ludo ducunt. Virg. Georg. III. 376.

But

But to return to the Icelandic authors. The moſt antient hiſtorian was Iſlief, biſhop of Skalholt: he was ſon of Giſſur Albus, a perſon of great diſtinction in Iceland, and deſcended from the antient kings of Denmark, who conſiderably promoted the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. Iſlief was born in 1006; and, having received the firſt rudiments of learning from his father, was ſent, in the 16th year of his age into Saxony, for the purpoſe of completing his education, and made rapid advances in ſeveral branches of knowledge*. Being ordained prieſt, he returned to Iceland; fixed his reſidence at Skalholt, where his father had erected a church, and preached the Goſpel with fervent and perſuaſive eloquence. Iſlief was the firſt native biſhop of Iceland: he was raiſed to that dignity in the 50th year of his age, at the requeſt of the inhabitants, by particular deſire of the emperor Henry III. and during the pontificate of Leo IX. He was conſecrated by the archbiſhop of Bremen, on the 6th of January 1056; and returning the ſame year to Iceland, fixed the ſee at Skalholt, where he continued until his death, which happened in 1080, in the 75th year of his age. Iſlief is deſcribed as a perſon of a dignified aſpect, affable, juſt and upright in all his actions, liberal and

* This account of Iſlief I have extracted from Kriſtni Saga, p. 106 to 109, 130 to 141. Hungervaka Saka, p. 13 to 25.

beneficent,

beneficent, though, from the ſcantineſs of his income, frequently expoſed to extreme penury. The fame of his learning and piety being widely diffuſed, many foreign biſhops viſited Iceland, for the purpoſe of receiving his inſtructions; and his memory was ſo highly revered among his countrymen, that his name was eſteemed ſynonymous to ſanctity and erudition. He married Dalla, daughter of Thorwaldus, by whom he had three ſons, all celebrated for their talents and knowledge; but particularly Giffur, who ſucceeded his father in the biſhopric, and inherited his zeal for the propagation of the Goſpel, and the promotion of learning. Iſlief guarded againſt the decline of literature in Iceland, by aſſiduouſly inſtructing many pupils, ſome of whom became eminently diſtinguiſhed, and two were advanced to the epiſcopal dignity. He was well verſed in the hiſtory of the North, and compiled ſeveral annals, which though now loſt, furniſhed materials for the chronicles of the earlieſt Icelandic authors, whoſe works are extant. I allude to Are, ſurnamed the Sage, who was educated by Teitus, ſon of Iſlief; Sæmund Sigfurſon, for his great erudition denominated Polyhiſtor, and Snorro Sturleſon, ſtyled by his learned editor, the Herodotus of the North; all of whom immediately ſucceeded Iſlief, and wrote on the hiſtory of Norway.

Many

Many ſubſequent annaliſts made their appearance, of whom it would be ſuperflous to give an account. Several of their writings, compoſed in the Icelandic tongue, have been given to the public, ſome printed in Iceland *, others in Sweden; but the greater part in Denmark, accompanied with Swediſh, Daniſh, or Latin tranſlations †. The moſt important of theſe publications is a folio edition of the chronicle of Snorro, printed at Copenhagen in 1778, accompanied with a life of the author. He was born in 1178, received his education, and completed his ſtudies in Iceland; became chief magiſtrate of the country, and was killed in an inſurrection in 1241, in the 63d year of his age. According to his biographer, he was an excellent poet, an accurate hiſtorian, a ſkilful lawyer, a proficient in the Greek and Latin tongues, and not ignorant of mathematics and mechanics ‡. From

* Von Troil informs us, that printing was introduced into Iceland by John (or Jonas) Areſon, biſhop of Holun; that John Mathieſſon, a Swede, was the firſt printer; and that the firſt book was the Breviarium Nidaroſienſe, printed in 1531 at Holun. He adds, that new types were brought thither in 1574; and that the Icelandic Bible was printed in 1584. See Letters on Iceland, p. 182.

† For a liſt of the Icelandic authors, ſee Preface to Annales Biornornis de Skardſa, p. 5. North. Ant. I. p. 52, & paſſim. Letters on Iceland, Letter XIV. The library of the Britiſh Muſeum contains about 180 Icelandic manuſcripts. See Ayſcough's Catalogue of the manuſcripts of the Britiſh Muſeum, p. 890.

‡ Preface, p. ix.

his

his chronicle, Torfæus, the late annaliſt of the North, chiefly drew the materials for his Hiſtory of Norway, and he acknowledges himſelf more indebted to Snorro than to any other writer.

From the 14th century, hiſtory and letters gradually declined in Iceland, and it was involved in the ſame darkneſs which had overſpread Europe. The reformation, which was introduced in the middle of the 16th century, occaſioned the revival of ſcience. Although there never have been wanting among the inhabitants men of conſiderable learning, yet, as knowledge has widely diffuſed itſelf in Sweden and Denmark under the protection of their ſovereigns, theſe kingdoms have become greatly enlightened, and Iceland is no longer the ſole repoſitory of northern genius *.

Although the Daniſh literati have directed their chief attention to hiſtory and antiquities; yet they have by no means been deficient in the ſtudy of nature.

Frederic V. the late king of Denmark, a munificent patron of the ſciences, founded, in 1753,

* I am chiefly indebted for information upon the literary hiſtory of Iceland to Mallet's North. Antiq. tranſlated by Dr. Percy, biſhop of Dromore; Von Troil's Letters on Iceland, tranſlated by Forſter; Torfæi Hiſt. Norw.; Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſt. Regum Norw.; and the ſeveral publications of the Icelandic writers printed at Copenhagen.

a bota-

a botanical garden, intended principally to facilitate a liberal deſign of giving a complete hiſtory, and engravings, of all the native plants in the Daniſh dominions *. The ſuperintendance of this garden (with a ſtipend) and afterwards the profeſſorſhip of botany in the Royal Academy of Copenhagen, were conferred on Mr. Oeder, who was choſen to conduct the work. In proſecution of this deſign, he viſited at the king's expence various parts of Denmark and Norway, and began the publication in 1762.

The Flora Danica was intended to contain, in the folio form, figures of all the indigenous plants of Denmark, Norway, thoſe of the duchies of Sleſwick and Holſtein, and of many from Iceland; a tract of country extending more than 16 degrees, between the 54th degree of latitude and the North Cape. A hiſtory of all theſe plants, in octavo, was alſo promiſed; but this part of the plan has not yet been completed.

Of this Flora Danica, a number, or *faſciculus*, containing 60 plates, was intended to be annually publiſhed; the firſt came forth in 1762, but, according to the uſual fate of periodical under-

* This account of the Flora Danica, and of Meſſrs. Oeder and Muller, was chiefly communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, to whom I have been ſo repeatedly obliged.

takings

takings of ſuch conſiderable extent, ſeveral cauſes have retarded its regular progreſs, and the 15th *faſciculus* only, completing the number of 900 plates, or 5 volumes, made its appearance in 1782. This work may be purchaſed either coloured or plain. The names of the plants are not engraved on the plates; neither from the nature of the ſubject could any regular method, or ſyſtem, he obſerved. The plants are ſeparately figured; each engraving contains one plant only, except in thoſe of the claſs Cryptogamia, where, in ſome inſtances, ſeveral are given in the ſame plate. Prefixed to each *faſciculus* is a nomenclature, with the Linnæan names, a few ſelect ſynonyms, and an account of the places of growth. As often as the ſize will admit, the plant is exhibited in the natural magnitude; in others, a branch only, and, in moſt inſtances, the parts of fructification are ſeparately delineated; an article indiſpenſable to botanical accuracy. In ſome of the larger plants, beſide the branch of the natural ſize, the whole is given on a reduced ſcale; but it muſt be confeſſed, that this part of the deſign is the leaſt meritorious; happily it does not often occur.

The 12th *faſciculus*, in 1777, was accompanied with an index of all the plants already engraved, or intended to be contained in this work; by which it appears, that the whole number

ber will nearly amount to 1800 ſpecies; of which more than 570 are of the claſs Cryptogamia, or that which contains the ferns, moſſes, algæ, and fungi. That any curious perſons, yet unacquainted with this work, may judge how far it might be ſubſervient to their knowledge of Engliſh botany, it may be added, that out of 980 ſpecies already figured in the 15 firſt *faſciculi*, more than 700 are ſpontaneouſly produced in Britain.

Magnificent and accurate as this work is, and though conducted at the king's expence, truth will not be offended by aſſerting, that the execution of it is ſtill inferior to a performance of the ſame kind, now publiſhing in England, at the riſk of an individual. I allude to Curtis's *Flora Londinenſis*; which, for the magnitude of the plates, the nice diſcrimination and figures of the fructification, has not been paralleled by any other publication of ſuch ſcope and deſign; nor is the merit of the *Flora Londinenſis* confined to the accurate elegance of the plates; it contains a minute deſcription of each plant, and is enriched by ſcientific, uſeful, and œconomical obſervations, either extracted from the beſt writers, or derived from the extenſive knowledge of its author. It is but juſtice to add, that the minute plants of the claſs Cryptogamia, in the delineation of which the *Flora Danica* is extremely

tremely deficient, are figured with the utmoſt exactneſs by Mr. Curtis, who introduced to the Engliſh botaniſt five new ſpecies of *agarici* *.

Chriſtian Oeder, to whom, through the liberality of his monarch, we are indebted for the *Flora Danica*, was the pupil and friend of the celebrated Haller, under whom he was educated at Gottingen. According to Dr. Nugent's account of Oeder †, he viſited England in his younger days, and acquired a great knowledge of the language. Whilſt ſtudent at Gottingen, he tranſlated all the Engliſh treatiſes for a Latin edition of Dr. Mead's works, which Haller publiſhed in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1748. The ſucceeding year he took his doctor's degree in phyſic, and wrote, on that occaſion, a theſis, which Haller calls "*Docta Diſſertatio contra revulſionem & derivationem.*" In 1752, at which period he was ſettled at Copenhagen, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Gottingen named him a correſpondent member; and ſoon after he was made ſuperintendant of the botanical garden at Copenhagen, and profeſſor of botany. In 1752, Oeder preſided at the public diſputation of Dr. Peter Aſcanius, and took that occaſion to write on

* A. Oſtreatus; Plycatalis; Glutinoſus; Floccoſus; Velutipes.—Mr. Curtis publiſhed only two volumes of this ſplendid work, which has been interrupted by his death, which happened in 1799.

† See Nugent's Travels through Germany, vol. I.

irritability; a ſubject on which the experiments and obſervations of his great maſter had drawn the attention of anatomiſts and phyſicians.

Having performed many journies into the different provinces of Denmark, accompanied by a draughtſman, and collected great materials for the intended *Flora*, he publiſhed, in 1762, the firſt *faſciculus*; and in 1764, as a part of his plan, his Elements of Botany, in 8vo. This work exhibits a profound knowledge of the ſubject; and the author has given the outlines of a new method of arrangement, adapted only to the plants of Europe. The ſecond volume of the Elements was printed in 1766; and is embelliſhed with fourteen excellent plates, explanatory of the technical part of his ſubject. His ſyſtem was intended to compriſe eight claſſes: 1. *Cryptantheræ*; 2. *Monocotyledones*; 3. *Amentaceæ*; 4. *Incompletæ*; 5. *Calycarpæ*; 6. *Calycanthemæ*; 7. *Monopetalæ*; 8. *Polypetalæ*. Of this ſyſtem the author has only exemplified the firſt claſs; which he publiſhed in a ſeparate volume in 1770, in 8vo; and in which are methodically arranged 1239 ſpecies, with the ſpecific names, from Dillenius, Haller, and Linnæus.

It is greatly to be regretted, that this ingenious naturaliſt has been called from the paths of ſcience by an appointment to an office in the

treaſury,

treaſury, where he has ſhewed himſelf no leſs qualified to excel in the civil line.

After the publication of the 11th *faſciculus* in 1775, the further proſecution of the work was committed to the care of Dr. Otto Frederic Muller, a gentleman who afterwards gave to the public ſeveral valuable ſpecimens of his knowledge in natural hiſtory; particularly a curious work under the title of *Hiſtoria Vermium*; another under that of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Prodromus*; and engaged, under the higheſt patronage, in publiſhing the figures of all the rarer animals of the kingdom of Denmark, under the title of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Icones*, of which two *faſciculi* made their appearance*.

In ſpeaking of the publications on natural hiſtory, it would be unpardonable to omit the moſt ſplendid work of the kind ever produced in any nation. It is a collection of rare ſhells, in two volumes, folio, engraved and coloured by Francis Michael Regenfuſs, at the royal expence. The firſt volume contains a ſhort account of the collections of natural hiſtory, and particularly of

* Since the death of Dr. Muller, who completed only the 15th *faſciculus*, the *Flora Danica* has been continued by Profeſſor Vahl, well known from his *Symbolæ Botanicæ*, or deſcription of plants collected by Forſkal during his journey into the Eaſt, to which are added others ſeen by the Profeſſor himſelf in the South of Europe, and in Africa. The ſame author has enriched botanical ſcience by a deſcription of American plants not before known, in a work entitled *Eclogæ Americanæ*.

ſhells, in Denmark; a preliminary diſcourſe on conchology, with a detail of the authors who have written on the ſubject, and their different ſyſtems, and 78 complete and delicately coloured figures, in 12 plates, accompanied with ſcientific deſcriptions in the Latin, French, and German languages *.

The kings of Denmark have occaſionally deputed, and ſtill continue to ſend, at their expence, men of learning not only through their own territories, but to various parts of the globe, for the purpoſe of extending the bounds of knowledge.

Langebek travelled through the Daniſh dominions, and Sweden, with a view to collect documents, charters, and other ſtate-papers, relative to the ancient hiſtory of the North; and Schoening for the ſame purpoſe, at the expence of prince Frederic. Among others employed in the execution of the ſame plan, Dr. Moldenhauer, a gentleman of various and profound erudition, viſited England, France, and Spain, where he examined the libraries for Oriental and claſſical manuſcripts.

But the literary expedition which reflects the higheſt honour on the crown of Denmark, and holds up an example to other ſovereigns, was begun in 1761, under the auſpices of Frederic V. who, at the ſuggeſtion of the late count

* Choix de Coquillages Gravées.

Bernſdorf,

Bernſdorf, diſpatched four perſons * eminently verſed in different branches of ſcience, to Arabia; of which curious and intereſting journey Niebuhr, the only ſurvivor, has publiſhed a much eſteemed account †.

There are two libraries at Copenhagen belonging to the king, a private and a public, both in the apartments of the palace. The private library contains 20,000 volumes; the public 110,000, and 7,000 manuſcripts. Among the manuſcripts are many Perſian and Arabic, brought from Arabia by Niebuhr. Among thoſe of the claſſics, I obſerved a beautiful Cicero's Rhetoric on vellum, and a no leſs beautiful Virgil on vellum, of the eleventh century, which has been collated by the learned Heyne of Gottingen for his excellent edition of the Roman poet.

This collection is extremely rich in Icelandic books, and in all publications relative to the antiquities and hiſtory of the three northern kingdoms. The art of typography muſt have

* Frederic Chriſtian Haven for Oriental languages; Forſkall and Dr. Cramer for natural hiſtory; Niebuhr for hiſtory and geography: they were accompanied by a draughtſman.

† Beſchreibung von Arabien; Reiſe Beſchreibung nach Arabien, &c. in 3 vols. This work has been tranſlated into the French language. Deſcription de l'Arabie. They departed from Copenhagen in 1761.

been introduced late into Denmark; as the earlieſt book printed at Copenhagen is Skanſky Logh, or king Waldemar's Law of Scania, which bears the date of 1505.

The library of Count Thott, probably the largeſt private collection in Europe, contains 110,000 volumes, and above 5,000 manuſcripts. It is as remarkable for the rarity, as for the number of the books, and is particularly rich in the palæographia, or early printed books, of which there are above 2,000 of the fifteenth century *.

Mr. Suhm's collection deſerves alſo to be viſited by the lover of letters. It contained, 1785, 50,000 volumes collected by himſelf; it abounds with hiſtorical and topographical publications in all languages, particularly thoſe which relate to the antiquities and hiſtory of northern Europe, the favourite object of his reſearches. He poſſeſſes alſo many curious manuſcripts in the Greek and Oriental languages, particularly thoſe which belonged to the celebrated Reiſkius, for the purchaſe of which he gave the widow an annuity of £.40. This library is open every morning from nine to eleven, for the uſe and

* This curious and valuable collection, ſince the death of Count Thott, has been ſold by auction; the catalogue conſiſts of ſeveral volumes, and is a deſirable acquiſition to the literati.

inſpection

Inſpection of men of letters, and the ſtudents of the univerſity.

Suhm is juſtly conſidered one of the moſt learned men in Denmark, in regard to the hiſtory and antiquities of the north. He has given to the public ſeveral works on theſe ſubjects, much eſteemed for profoundneſs and accuracy of reſearch: among others, on the Origin of Nations in general; on the Origin of the Northern Nations; concerning Odin, and the Mythology of the Northern Nations; on the Emigrations of the Northern Nations, 2 vols.; Critical Hiſtory of Denmark, 2 vols.; Hiſtory of Denmark.

CHAP. 5.

Preſentation to the Prince Royal.—Revolution in the Adminiſtration effected by his Royal Highneſs.

JULY 16th 1784. In a private audience of the prince royal, I had the honour of preſenting the firſt edition of my Travels in Poland, Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark. His royal highneſs converſed with me for a conſiderable time; and, by his queſtions and remarks, gave ſtrong ſigns of a comprehenſive mind, and of a diſpoſition formed for government. I could not avoid admiring a prince, who at the age of ſixteen acted with ſo much firmneſs, ſecrecy, and diſcretion; and who lately effected a change in the adminiſtration of this kingdom, no leſs by his own prudence and courage, than by the advice and aſſiſtance of his friends.

Since the impriſonment and exile of Matilda, the whole power was veſted in the queen-dowager Juliana Maria; and the adminiſtration, which oſtenſibly carried on the public affairs, was ſubſervient to her views, and to thoſe of her ſon prince Frederic.

By means of his couſin, the queen-dowager, the

the king of Pruſſia * gradually acquired an almoſt abſolute ſway in the cabinet of Denmark; and directed the foreign affairs in ſubſerviency to the views of the French court, and in oppoſition to the intereſts of England. Count Bernſdorf, prime-miniſter, being the only perſon in the Daniſh miniſtry who ventured to oppoſe the French and Pruſſian party, his diſmiſſion was reſolved in the cabinets of Verſailles and Berlin; and his conduct, with regard to the armed neutrality, furniſhed an opportunity to effect their purpoſe.

The king of Pruſſia having prevailed on the reigning party to accede to the armed neutrality, a meaſure ſo hoſtile to the intereſts of England, Count Bernſdorf, though unable to prevent the meaſure, had yet ſufficient addreſs to inſert an article in the treaty, that Denmark ſhould maintain its former alliances.

This conduct gave great diſguſt to the king of Pruſſia; and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic was ſent to offer Bernſdorf, that he ſhould be continued in the office of prime-miniſter, if he would agree to the armed neutrality without the aforeſaid ſtipulation; but to threaten him with inſtant diſmiſſion, if he perſevered in maintaining that point. Bernſdorf, nobly diſdaining

* Frederic the Second.

to

to hold his office on ſuch diſhonourable terms, was diſmiſſed from his employments, and retired into Germany; and his removal gave unlimited ſcope to the Pruſſian party, which governed the queen-dowager.

Guldberg, formerly profeſſor of the academy of Soroe, and preceptor to prince Frederic, was the perſon in whom the queen-dowager confided, and in the capacity of private ſecretary to the king, was the ſecret, though not the oſtenſible miniſter. A change was alſo introduced in the uſual mode of iſſuing the royal mandates, which ſecured to the queen-dowager and her party the moſt abſolute ſway.

Previous to this change, the general affairs of government were tranſacted in the privy-council, conſiſting of as many members as the king choſe to appoint; all particular buſineſs was carried through the different boards of finance, marine, and commerce, and the king always ſigned the decrees and edicts ſeparately from each board.

To extend their influence and authority, the reigning party introduced a kind of private cabinet, in which the royal orders were iſſued excluſively of the ſeveral boards. By this means the privy-council became little more than a cypher; the reſpective boards were only employed in fulfilling the king's orders; and, as the king

king himſelf was incapable of governing, the queen-dowager, who had poſſeſſion of his perſon, could obtain his ſignature on all occaſions, and was, in effect, ſovereign without control.

Nothing could alter this ſtate of affairs, but the admiſſion of the prince into the privy-council; and as, according to the laws of Denmark, he could not be ſworn a member until he had been confirmed and taken the ſacrament; and as, in order to be confirmed, he was to undergo a public examination, the governing party contrived to delay that ceremony, under the pretence that he was not ſufficiently inſtructed in the articles of religion. Reports were induſtriouſly circulated, and as readily believed, by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to believe them, that the prince's abilities were extremely moderate. And, although it was uſual for the prince-royal to be confirmed, and take his ſeat in the privy-council at thirteen; yet this ceremony was repeatedly poſtponed long after he had reached that age.

When the prince had nearly attained his ſixteenth year, they could not venture to delay his confirmation, but as the fatal hour approached, every precaution which prudence or art could ſuggeſt, was taken to gain the prince, and continue the power in the ſame hands. For this purpoſe,

purpoſe, his governor, general Eikſted, who was not beloved by his royal pupil, was diſmiſſed; and Sporen, his preceptor, and ſuppoſed to be his favourite, appointed ſecretary of the cabinet. A new privy-council was nominated, conſiſting almoſt entirely of the queen-dowager's creatures, in which Guldberg had the principal ſway. Every thing ſeemed to bend before the queen-dowager, the prince effected a revolution, as ſingular as it was unexpected.

On the 4th of April 1784, the prince was confirmed in the royal chapel of Copenhagen, in the preſence of the king and court. According to the cuſtom of the Lutheran church, he underwent a previous examination by the king's chaplain, which continued above an hour; and the prince replied to every queſtion in a ſenſible manner; ſufficiently proving, from the readineſs and perſpicuity of his anſwers, that the reports of his incapacity were malicious and unfounded. He ſpoke in a loud, clear, manly tone of voice, with a dignity and propriety which aſtoniſhed the aſſembly; and repeated the oath, to continue true to the eſtabliſhed church, in ſo feeling a manner, as drew tears from the eyes of many who were preſent.

Having, on a ſubſequent occaſion, received the ſacrament, he was admitted into the privy-council; and on the morning of the 14th of April, took

took the accuſtomed oath. About five in the afternoon, the prince and members of the new privy-council aſſembled for the firſt time in the king's preſence. Steman, who was at the head of the treaſury, was going to propoſe the ordinary buſineſs of the day; but was interrupted by the prince: turning to the king, his royal highneſs thanked his majeſty for his education; and remonſtrated againſt many abuſes in the late adminiſtration of affairs, particularly on the irregular mode of iſſuing orders from the cabinet, and not from the different boards of government. He then ſaid, "Conſcious of my own inexperience, I cannot adviſe your majeſty for the glory of the crown, or the advantage of the nation, unleſs the privy-council conſiſts of thoſe perſons who poſſeſs my confidence, and the confidence of the people. But, in the preſent inſtance, neither myſelf nor the nation can place any confidence in the perſons now in power; I therefore requeſt your majeſty to diſſolve the preſent privy-council, and to appoint in their place count Bernſdorf, and ſuch other perſons as I take the liberty of recommending. I hope and truſt that your majeſty will iſſue an order, that no edict ſhall be valid, unleſs counterſigned by me." At the concluſion of theſe words, which he uttered with great firmneſs and moderation, he laid the

appointment

appointment of the new privy-council before the king, and intreated him to ſign it.

All the members (except baron Schach Rathlow, who alone was acquainted with the prince's determination) were ſo petrified with aſtoniſhment, as to be incapable of making any reſiſtance. But when the king appeared to heſitate, one of the members roſe, and ſaid, "Sir, his majeſty cannot ſign ſuch papers without due conſideration;" and endeavoured at the ſame time to ſnatch them from the prince's hand. The prince replied with ſome warmth, but with great dignity, "Sir, it is not your buſineſs to adviſe his majeſty on ſuch occaſions, but mine, who am heir apparent, and reſponſible to the nation for my conduct;" and again tendering the papers to the king, his majeſty inſtantly ſigned them. The papers were ſent by a confidential meſſenger to the chancery, and regiſtered accordingly.

The privy-council being thus diſſolved on the firſt time of their aſſembling in the king's preſence, the prince himſelf announced the change to the queen-dowager in terms of high reſpect.

Throughout the whole tranſaction the conduct of the young prince was remarkable for a diſcretion and ſecrecy extremely uncommon in a perſon of his age. Being diſcontented with the queen-dowager, he had firſt entered into a ſecret correſpondence with count Bernſdorf, continued

his

his intercourſe near two years, ſometimes by letters, and ſometimes by meſſages, and received from him inſtructions in what manner to proceed. While engaged in this buſineſs, he entered into another correſpondence with Schach Rathlow, who had the principal ſhare in procuring the diſmiſſion of count Bernſdorf, but was now diſpleaſed with the perſons in power, and made private offers to the prince, without being acquainted with his ſecret correſpondence with Bernſdorf. The prince carried on this double intrigue under the direction of count Bernſdorf, in whom he implicitly confided, without being ſuſpected by his preceptor Sporen, or by his governor, general Eikſted, and even lulled the ſuſpicions of the queen-dowager: her majeſty, in a converſation which ſhe held with him about a week before the event, taxed him with holding a ſecret correſpondence; to which he returned an evaſive anſwer with ſuch unconcern and ſerenity, that he entirely removed her ſuſpicions.

Thus a boy, not ſixteen years of age, duped veterans in court-intrigues, by pretending to be entirely friendly to the queen-dowager's party, and to acquieſce in the nomination of the new privy-council, at the moment he was determined to remove them. And although the project was entruſted to above ten perſons, yet not one of them

them betrayed the ſmalleſt ſymptom which could create ſuſpicion.

Every meaſure which prudence dictated was adopted on this important occaſion. General Hut had aſſembled the guards in order to force the privy-council to compliance, ſhould the members make any oppoſition; and the governor of the citadel was prepared to admit the prince within the fortreſs, if affairs had not turned out to his wiſhes. Fortunately the courage and addreſs of the prince, and the popularity of his cauſe, rendered theſe precautions unneceſſary.

The prince treated with great mildneſs all thoſe perſons whom he removed from their places. He conferred on the ex-miniſter Guldberg a penſion of * 5000 rix-dollars, and appointed him governor of Aarhus, a ſpecies of honourable baniſhment. He nominated Steman governor of Haderſleben; aſſured him, he was convinced of the fidelity with which he had diſcharged his office of treaſurer; adding, that if he could not ſufficiently reward him, he would amply provide for his children.

The chief perſons who acted as the prince's confidants, and who have ſince filled the principal offices in court and ſtate, were, M. de Schach Rathlow, Count Bernſdorf, Count Shimmelman,

* 1000*l.*

General

General Hut, and M. de Bulow, then gentleman of the bed-chamber, and now marſhal of the prince's court.

The only foreigner who is ſuppoſed to have had any knowledge of the tranſaction, was Mr. Elliot, who had repaired to Copenhagen from Berlin, in the capacity of Britiſh envoy; and the king of Great Britain was the firſt ſovereign to whom the prince royal communicated his ſucceſs.

CHAP. 6.

Excurſion to Hirſholm, Frederickſborg, Friedenſberg, and Frederickſwerk.

THE ſhortneſs of my ſtay at Copenhagen during my firſt tour, and the earlineſs of the ſeaſon, prevented me from making excurſions in the environs of Copenhagen. My ſecond tour in 1784, having afforded me an opportunity of gratifying my curioſity, I made an agreeable expedition to the palaces of Hirſholm, Frederickſborg, and Friedenſberg, and to the iron founderies of Frederickſwerk.

Hirſholm, a royal palace begun by Chriſtian the Sixth, and finiſhed by his queen Chriſtina Sophia, is a large quadrangular building of brick ſtuccoed white, ſurrounded by a moat, and placed in a low and marſhy ſituation. The ſuite of apartments is princely, but almoſt without furniture, as they have not been inhabited ſince the impriſonment and exile of queen Matilda, who made it her favourite reſidence. The dining-room is a large apartment, and remarkable for a *jet d'eau*, and twelve fountains, ſpouting from the ſides. The gardens are formal, and

full of *jets d'eau*. The place is ſo entirely neglected, that the court-yard is over-run with weeds, and the moat is a green mantled pool. Orders were lately received to put the palace in repair for the reſidence of the prince royal, who diſplays an affectionate attachment to the memory of his mother.

In the gardens is a ſummer-houſe, which ſerved as a temporary theatre for the diverſion of queen Matilda, and her company; and in another part is a wooden building called a Norway-houſe, containing landſcapes of Norway in relief, and imitations of rocks, with wooden cottages perched on them, and wooden roads. Near this building the walks are not unpleaſantly carried through the grounds in the Engliſh ſtyle.

The road from Hirſholm to Fredericſborg winds agreeably, through a beautiful and undulating country, richly clothed with foreſts of beech, birch, and oak, and enlivened by ſmall lakes in the receſſes of the wood.

Fredericſborg was built by Chriſtian the Fourth, and was ſo called in honour of his father Frederic the Second. It is an enormous and motley pile of building, partly of red brick, and partly of ſtone, partly Gothic, and partly in the Grecian ſtyle of architecture. It is built round three courts, each of which is

ſurrounded by moats, and joined by bridges. The principal façade is full of niches, containing bad ſtatues. In the inner court are two ſtories of ſeven arcades, conſtructed with ſtone painted black, and pillars of dark Norwegian marble. This appendage contraſting with the red brick produces a ſtrange effect; while a profuſion of gilding and maſſy ſculpture diſfigures rather than adorns the building.

The ſituation, on the banks of a ſmall lake, is not unpleaſant. The palace contains a large collection of pictures, in great confuſion, among which I obſerved a few not unworthy of notice. The Crucifixion of our Saviour, by Andreas Peters, a Daniſh painter, in the reign of Chriſtian the Fourth; three brought from Italy, by Frederic the Fourth; Saul and David, after the death of Goliah, by an unknown hand; Abraham and Melchiſedec, by Caravaggio, diſplaying the ſtrong contraſt of light and ſhade, and that vulgar nature, which characterizes the works of that capricious painter; Jonas preaching to the Ninevites, by Salvator Roſa, the figures as large as life, and in the grand ſtyle of that great maſter; ſeveral tolerable paintings of the Flemiſh ſchool, chiefly ſcriptural ſubjects.

One of the apartments contains a ſuite of the imaginary portraits of the kings of Denmark, before the converſion of the Danes to the chriſ-

tian

tian religion. In another, I obſerved the whole length figures of the kings of Denmark of the houſe of Oldenburgh, beginning with Chriſtian the Firſt, and ending with Chriſtian the Fifth, all originals. Of theſe the portrait of Chriſtian the Second is the moſt ſtriking, as it exhibits a fine expreſſion of that melancholy, ſeverity, and cruelty, which formed a prominent feature in the character of that deteſtable tyrant. A head of his queen Iſabella, ſiſter of the emperor Charles the Fifth, reminded me of her mild and amiable qualities; of the meekneſs and patience, and yet dignity, with which ſhe ſupported the harſhneſs and infidelities of her obdurate huſband in the time of his proſperity; of her extreme attachment to him in the hour of his diſgrace; of her unwearied attentions to ſoothe his diſappointment, and rouſe him from his deſpondency, of her refuſal to accept an honourable ſettlement offered by the ſtates of Denmark, and of her noble anſwer, "That ſhe had rather live with her huſband in baniſhment, than reign without him *." She ſurvived his depoſition only three years, and died in the palace of Ghent, in 1526. Anne of Denmark, ſiſter of Chriſtian the Fourth, and queen of James the Firſt. Several of Charles the Firſt, one in his princely robes, when a boy

* Mallet, Hiſt. des Dan. vol. ii. p. 277, 4to.

of fifteen, and another by Vandyke, when a young man.

The chapel is a handſome apartment, but more remarkable for coſtlineſs than taſte. The walls are hung with the eſcutcheons of the knights of the Elephant, the firſt order in Denmark; as is the gallery with the eſcutcheons of the knights of the order of Danebrog.

The palace of Friedenſberg, four miles from Fredericſborg, is delightfully placed at a ſmall diſtance from the lake of Eſſerom, a piece of water fifteen miles in circumference. I ſcarcely ever beheld a ſituation more capable of improvement, and wiſhed for a diſciple of Brown to lay out the ground. But this beautiful ſpot is ſpoiled, (if it can be ſpoiled) by cut yews, ſtraight walks, a profuſion of ſtatues and triumphal arches, where nature and ſimplicity are expelled; for in thoſe parts, on the oppoſite ſide of the lake, where the grounds are covered with natural foreſts, the ſcenery is extremely beautiful and picturesque.

The palace is a brick building ſtuccoed white, conſiſting of a front, and two wings. It was built by Frederic the Fourth, and called Friedenſberg, or the manſion of *Peace*, becauſe it was finiſhed in 1720, when the peace was concluded with Sweden, after a long war which had deſolated both countries. As a memorial of this event,

event, a wooden pillar, painted like marble, and a ſmall ſtatue of Peace, are erected in the area before the palace, more expreſſive of the ſatisfaction with which Frederic gave peace to his ſubjects, than of his taſte in ſculpture. It bears this inſcription: * *Paci ſtatuam, arcem, quodque reliquum fuit vitæ, dedicavit Fredericus Quartus*, 1720; a promiſe which the monarch inviolably maintained during the remainder of his reign, and which reflects high honour on his memory, as he poſſeſſed a ſpirit of enterprize and undaunted courage. From this period he had leiſure to attend to the internal regulations of his kingdom, and to form uſeful eſtabliſhments, particularly the foundation of ſeveral country ſchools, which endears his memory to his countrymen.

Nothing more is wanting to render Friedenſberg a moſt delightful ſpot, than to remove the cut hedges, level the terraces, to permit the foreſt trees to expand and grow; in a word, to leave nature to herſelf. In the garden is a curious aſſemblage of ſtatues, placed regularly on circular terraces of earth, which are of ſtone painted white, and repreſent the Norway peaſants habited in their various dreſſes.

We did not attempt to requeſt the permiſſion

* To peace, this ſtatute, palace, and the remainder of his life, were dedicated by Frederic the Fourth, 1720.

of ſeeing the palace, as it is inhabited by the queen-dowager, Juliana Maria; * the place of her retirement, ſince the prince royal has taken into his hands the adminiſtration of affairs.

Early the next morning we quitted the village of Friedenſberg, where we found a neat inn, with comfortable accommodations, and returning by the palace of Fredericſborg, paſſed on to Fredericſwerk, near the Iſe-fiord, a bay of the ſea, on the northern ſhore of Zealand, where general Clauſſen has eſtabliſhed various manufactories, a foundery for cannon, and other works, for ſupplying the Daniſh army and navy with ſtores. The general, to whom we had a letter of recommendation, received us with great cordiality and politeneſs, and accompanied us over the works.

General Clauſſen eſtabliſhed theſe works in 1756, on the expectation of a Ruſſian war, when the government was ſcantily ſupplied with military ſtores. He fixed on this ſpot as the moſt convenient for water to turn the mills; gave in his propoſals to government, which were inſtantly accepted, and completed his plan, notwithſtanding numerous obſtacles.

We embarked with the general on a canal, which forms the communication between a ſmall

* The queen-dowager is ſince deceaſed.

lake,

lake, and the Iſe-fiord. This cut was begun in 1717, by command of Frederic the Fourth, to prevent the inundations of the lake from overflowing the royal eſtates; and from thence the place was called Fredericſwerk. It was finiſhed in 1720, but the ſoil being a light-ſand, and the banks cut perpendicularly, they fell down, and choaked the canal for a ſpace of 500 feet. The general found it therefore neceſſary to new form the canal. He cut through ſeveral parts above 70 feet in depth, ſloped the banks, covered them with earth, and in ſome places with ſea-weed, faſtened by branches of fir, to prevent the ſand from being drifted away. He then planted the ſlopes with willows, alders, elm, and oak, which he was obliged to water every day for a year. By theſe means the plants throve, and now clothe the high banks to the edge of the water.

In the ſame manner he planted the adjacent country for the ſpace of ſeveral miles, which was either a moraſs, or covered with drifted ſand. Frederic the Fourth in vain endeavoured to fertilize this waſte; for when he thought he had ſucceeded, the ſand in one year covered many miles; in ſome places, to the aſtoniſhing height of 80 feet. General Clauſſen, however, has ſucceeded, and has ſhewn that ingenuity is of more

avail

avail than abſolute power. By fixing the ſea-weed into the ground with fir branches, he rendered the ſoil ſtable, and fertilized, at great labour and expence, a deſert of ſeveral miles. Thus, a tract of country, which before only fed two-and-thirty cows, now yields, beſides a large quantity of fire-wood, in a favourable ſeaſon, above 500 loads of hay.

At the extremity of this cut, we turned into another canal, formed entirely by the general; it was made through quickſands, and the banks likewiſe ſloped and planted. He employs at preſent only 340 men. All the workmen are his own peaſants, who of courſe labour at a reduced price. He has built for their habitation rows of houſes, with rude ſtones waſhed with ſtucco, made from equal quantities of the pounded ſcoria of iron, quicklime, and chalk, and has found from experience, that it is extremely durable. His works conſiſt of a foundery for cannon and balls, and for making ſaltpetre and gunpowder, with bake-houſes and breweries. He boaſted, that in 1772 he furniſhed the army of Norway with artillery in three months; and at two months notice he could ſupply a 50 gun ſhip with all her artillery, ammunition, and military ſtores. In ſhewing us his works, he laid claim to many new inventions. He ſaws and poliſhes cannon, by a

mill

mill ſo contrived as to anſwer various purpoſes; he ſaws off the waſte pieces of copper from the caſt cannon, which operation was the work of ſixteen men for three days, and is now performed in an hour. By means of the ſame mill, and a kind of turning machine, he poliſhes the cannon in the manner of turning, which uſed to be done by the tedious operation of filing. He has invented a ſimple machine to twiſt the hot iron bars for anchors; a mode which he prefers as ſtronger and better than the uſual method of hammering the bars together. In his powder-mills he uſes copper mortars, as much ſafer than thoſe of wood, which are apt to become dry, and harbour the powder in the ſmall crevices. He employs two ranges of mortars in each row, or ſixty-four in each powder-mill, wherein only twenty are generally uſed, and beats only ten pounds of powder with each mortar. The expence of copper mortars is conſiderable, as each coſts twenty-pounds; but the mills are leſs liable to accident, and if blown up, the mortars are again recovered.

On taking leave, the general preſſed us much to dine with him; but we excuſed ourſelves, being under the neceſſity of reaching Elſinoor, and engaged to dine the next day with Mr. De Conig. In our way to Elſinoor, we ſtopped at a

ſmall

ſmall village, and expected to find but ſcanty fare for our dinner; but were agreeably ſurprized at ſeeing the table covered with ſome cold proviſion, and four bottles of tokay, which the general had ſecretly ordered his houſekeeper to deliver to our ſervants.

CHAP. 7.

Iſland of Huen.—Memoirs of Tycho Brahe.

FOR the purpoſe of viſiting the ſmall iſle of Huen, celebrated for the reſidence of Tycho Brahe, we embarked at See Luſt on board a five-oared boat belonging to Count Shimmelman, and landed in two hours and an half.

Huen lies ſix Engliſh miles from the coaſt of Zealand, and three from that of Sweden, nine from Elſinoor, and fourteen from Copenhagen. It formerly belonged to the Danes, but was ceded to the Swedes at the peace of Roſchild in 1658.

This little iſland is ſix miles in circumference, contains a ſcattered village, one church, which is a pretty object on the north-weſt coaſt, about 50 houſes, and 250 inhabitants. It produces hay, and every ſpecies of corn, more than ſufficient for interior conſumption. The inhabitants maintain 200 horſes, 150 cows, 400 ſheep, and the ſame number of ſwine. The iſland pays, in quit-rent and taxes to the king, about 150 *l.*

We landed on the ſouth-weſt part in a ſmall bay, juſt below the place where a ſtream, ſupplied by numerous pools and fiſh-ponds, falls into the ſea.

ſea. We aſcended the ſhore, which is clothed with ſhort herbage, croſſed the ſtream, and paſſed over a gently waving ſurface gradually ſloping towards the ſea, and walked a mile to a farm-houſe ſtanding in the middle of the iſland, inhabited by Mr. Schaw, a Swediſh gentleman, to whom the greater part of the iſland belongs. He lives here in ſummer, but in winter reſides at Landſcrona. This dwelling is the ſame as exiſted in Tycho Brahe's time, and was the farm-houſe belonging to his eſtate. A guide, whom we obtained from Mr. Schaw, conducted us to the remains of Tycho's manſion, which are near the houſe, and conſiſt of little more than a mound of earth which incloſed the garden, and two pits, the ſites of his manſion and obſervatory. From this delightful ſpot, the higheſt point in the iſland, we enjoyed a noble proſpect; on one ſide, the coaſt of Zealand, ſtretching from Copenhagen to Elſinoor; the ſhores gently ſloping, embrowned to the margin of the water with rich wood, and beautifully ſprinkled with villages and villas; on the other ſide, we traced the rocky and almoſt naked cliffs of Sweden, ornamented with the diſtant ſpires of Landſcrona, Lund, Malmoe, and Helſingborg, and to the north a boundleſs expanſe of ocean, its undulating ſurface covered with

with innumerable veſſels ſailing in all directions. A few anecdotes of the Daniſh aſtronomer, who has rendered this little iſland remarkable in the hiſtory of literature, will not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader *.

Tycho Brahe, deſcended from a noble and illuſtrious Daniſh family, was born in 1546 at Knudſtorp, a ſmall lordſhip near Helſinborg in Scania. His father Otto Brahe, having a large family, Tycho was educated under the care and at the expence of his uncle, George Brahe, who, having no children, adopted him as his heir. Finding his nephew a boy of a lively capacity, and inclined to ſtudy, Tycho was inſtructed in the Latin tongue, unknown to his father, who conſidered literature as inglorious, and was deſirous that all his ſons ſhould follow the profeſſion of arms.

In the twelfth year of his age, Tycho was removed to the academy of Copenhagen; and was caſually incited to the ſtudy of aſtronomy by an eclipſe of the ſun, which happened on the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1560. He had for ſome time examined the aſtrological diaries or almanacs, which

* For the life of Brahe, I have conſulted chiefly Gaſſendus's Equitis Dani Tychonis Brahe Aſtronomorum Coryphæi vita; Joſſenus de vitâ et mor. Tych. Bra. Orat. Funebris; and Hoffman's Portraits Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſ. de Dannemarc, article Brahe.

pretended

pretended to predict future events from the inſpection of the ſtars; but when he obſerved that the eclipſe happened at the preciſe time at which it was foretold, his admiration was loſt in aſtoniſhment; and he conſidered that ſcience as divine, which could ſo thoroughly deſcribe the motions of the heavenly bodies, and foretel their relative poſitions. From that moment he devoted himſelf to aſtronomy.

In 1562 he was ſent to Leipſic for the purpoſe of ſtudying civil law; but gave to the law only thoſe hours which his tutor's importunity wreſted from him, devoting the greater part of his time to his favourite ſcience; and as his tutor continually remonſtrated againſt thoſe ſtudies which diverted his attention from the law, he conceived an unconquerable diſguſt for that profeſſion, and more aſſiduouſly, though ſecretly, continued his aſtronomical purſuits. For this purpoſe he expeuded his pocket money in the purchaſe of aſtronomical books, and having obtained a ſmall celeſtial globe, took the opportunity, while his preceptor was in bed, of examining the heavenly bodies, and before the expiration of a month, made himſelf acquainted with all the ſtars which appeared above the horizon. Inſpired with the ſame ardent zeal in purſuit of his favourite ſcience, he learned mathematics

thematics without a maſter, and invented ſeveral mathematical inſtruments.

Having paſſed three years at Leipſic, he was preparing to purſue his travels through Germany; but on the death of his uncle returned to his native country, to ſuperintend the eſtates, which he largely inherited. Inſtead of finding himſelf encouraged and eſteemed for his wonderful progreſs in aſtronomy, he was treated with contempt by his relations and acquaintance for his purſuit of a ſcience which they conſidered as degrading. Diſguſted at their behaviour, he ſettled his affairs, haſtened his departure from a country wherein he met with repeated mortifications, and before a year had elapſed ſet out on his travels. He proceeded to Wittenberg, and afterwards to Roſtoc, where an accident happened which nearly occaſioned his death.

Being invited to a wedding feaſt, he had a diſpute with a Daniſh nobleman relative to ſome ſubject in mathematics; and as they were both of choleric diſpoſitions, the diſpute ended in a duel. In the conflict part of Tycho's noſe was cut off. To remedy this defect, he contrived a factitious noſe of gold and ſilver, which he faſtened by means of a glue, ſo artfully formed, it is ſaid, as to bear the appearance of nature,

and to deceive many who were not acquainted with his loſs.

From Roſtoc Tycho continued his travels, and proſecuted his ſtudies in the principal towns of Germany and Italy, particularly at Augſburgh, where he formed an acquaintance with the celebrated Peter Ramus. He invented and improved various mathematical inſtruments, gave the plan of an obſervatory, which was conſtructed at the expence of the burgomaſter Paul Hainzell, and formed a ſeries of aſtronomical obſervations, which aſtoniſhed and ſurpaſſed all who had hitherto been conſidered as the greateſt proficients in the ſcience.

On his return to Copenhagen, in 1570, he was diſguſted with the ceremonies of the court; and, being importuned with innumerable viſits, removed to Herritzvold, near Knudſtorp, the ſeat of his maternal uncle, Steno Bille, who alone of all his relations encouraged him to perſevere in his aſtronomical labours, and conſigned to him a commodious apartment, and a convenient place for the conſtruction of an obſervatory and laboratory.

During his reſidence with his uncle, Tycho, beſides his aſtronomical reſearches, followed with no leſs zeal the ſtudy of chymiſtry, or rather of alchymy, from the chimerical view of obtaining

the philoſopher's ſtone, that he might amaſs ſufficient riches to ſettle in ſome foreign country, where he might not be under the neceſſity of appearing at court, or being interrupted in his ſtudies by viſitors.

But neither philoſophy, nor the unwearied zeal with which he proſecuted his ſtudies, could exempt him from the paſſion of love. Being a great admirer of the fair ſex, he conceived a violent inclination for Chriſtina, a beautiful country girl, the daughter of a neighbouring peaſant, and alienated his family by eſpouſing her. Love is ingenious in deviſing excuſes. Our philoſopher juſtified the choice of his heart, and gave many whimſical reaſons for preferring a woman of low birth. He dreaded a wife who might be under the neceſſity of frequenting the court, a life to him moſt deteſtable; he therefore preferred one whoſe ſituation precluded her from what he ſtyles a painful honour, who, grateful to her benefactor, would be dependent on himſelf alone, would be happy to accompany him in his travels, would conſider a ſubſerviency to his inclinations as a duty, and not object to his continued application. Whatever effect theſe reaſons might have in inducing our philoſopher to marry, yet they had none on a proud family, who conceived

themſelves diſgraced by Tycho's miſ-alliance, and refuſed to hold any intercourſe with him, until Frederic the Second commanded them to be reconciled. Tycho ſeems not to have repented of his choice; but ever found in his beloved Chriſtina a grateful companion and an obedient wife.

About this period he firſt appeared as a public teacher, and read lectures on aſtronomy at Copenhagen, by the expreſs deſire of the king. He explained the theory of the planets, and preceded his explanation by a learned oration on the hiſtory and excellency of aſtronomy and the ſiſter-ſciences, with ſome remarks in favour of judicial aſtrology, a ſtudy as congenial to the times, as to the inclinations of our philoſopher.

Offended with his relations, and diſguſted with his countrymen, he had long determined to quit Denmark, and ſettle abroad. After travelling through Germany and Italy, he at length fixed on Baſle, to the choice of which place he was influenced by the wholeſomeneſs of the air, the cheapneſs of living, and the celebrity of the univerſity, from whence he might hold an eaſy correſpondence with the aſtronomers of France, Germany, and Italy.

On his return to Denmark he was preparing with the utmoſt ſecrecy to tranſport his library

and

and aſtronomical apparatus, but was prevented from carrying his deſign into execution by an unexpected ſummons from the king. Frederic, ſecretly appriſed of his intentions, was unwilling that Denmark ſhould be deprived of ſo great an ornament, kindly embraced him, offered his protection, preſented him with the iſland of Huen, and promiſed to erect the buildings and apparatus neceſſary for his purſuits. He alſo ſettled on him a penſion of 1000 crowns a year, and gave him a canonry of Roſkild worth not leſs than 2000 crowns.

Tycho, tranſported at this inſtance of his ſovereign's liberality, did not heſitate accepting the offer. He repaired to the iſle of Huen, and on the eighth of Auguſt, 1576, was preſent at laying the firſt ſtone of a magnificent houſe, which he afterwards called Uranienburgh, or the Caſtle of the Heavens. It was a building of ſixty feet ſquare, containing a large ſuite of apartments, an obſervatory, and a ſubterraneous laboratory: and although the king ſupplied 100,000 * rix-dollars, Tycho Brahe did not expend leſs than the ſame ſum. He afterwards conſtructed a detached building for his obſervatory, which he called Stiernberg, or the Mountain of the Stars †.

In

* 20,000 *l.*

† A plan of the iſland, and a curious engraving of theſe buildings

In this retreat Tycho Brahe paſſed twenty years, and greatly improved the ſcience of aſtronomy by the diligence and exactneſs of his obſervations. He maintained ſeveral ſcholars for the purpoſe of inſtructing them in geometry and aſtronomy; ſome of whom were ſent at the expence of the king, others, who voluntarily offered themſelves, he received and ſupported at his own charge.

He did not, however, paſs the life of an anchorite or a recluſe; on the contrary, he lived in a ſumptuous manner, kept an open houſe with unbounded hoſpitality, entertained and received all perſons, who flocked in crowds to viſit the iſland, and pay their reſpects to an aſtronomer of his renown.

During his reſidence in this iſland, he received numerous viſits from perſons of the higheſt rank, particularly from Ulric duke of Mecklenburgh, in company with his daughter Sophia queen of Denmark; William, landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, whoſe correſpondence with Brahe on

ings and of the garden, is to be found in Portraits Hiſtoriques des Hommes illuſtres de Dannemarc, under the article Tycho Brahe. An engraving of Uranienburgh is inſerted in the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1789, with explanations exactly ſimilar to the engravings and explanations in the Portraits Hiſtoriques, excepting that Stiernberg is omitted.

aſtronomical

aſtronomical ſubjects has been given to the public, and who had ſhewn himſelf a conſtant patron to the Daniſh aſtronomer.

In 1590 Tycho was honoured with a viſit from James king of Scotland, afterwards king of England, when that monarch repaired to the court of Copenhagen to conclude his marriage with the princeſs Anne, and remained eight days at Uranienburgh. On retiring, the king preſented the aſtronomer with a magnificent preſent, and afterwards accompanied his royal licence for the publication of his works, with this flattering teſtimony of his abilities and learning: "Nor am I acquainted with theſe things from the relation of others, or from a mere peruſal of your works; but I have ſeen them with my own eyes, and heard them with my own ears, in your reſidence at Uranienburgh, during the various learned and agreeable converſations, which I there held with you, which even now affect my mind to ſuch a degree, that it is difficult to decide, whether I recollect them with greater pleaſure or admiration; as I now willingly teſtify by this licence to preſent and future generations, &c."

His majeſty alſo compoſed, in honour of the Daniſh aſtronomer, ſome Latin verſes, more expreſſive of eſteem and admiration, than remarkable for claſſic elegance.

In 1592 Tycho was honoured with a viſit from his own ſovereign, Chriſtian the Fourth, then in the fifteenth year of his age, who continued ſome days at Uranienburgh. The king ſhewed great curioſity in examining the aſtronomical and chymical apparatus, expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction in receiving explanations, propoſed various queſtions on ſeveral points of mathematics and mechanics, to which his majeſty was attached, and particularly on the principles of fortification, and the conſtruction of ſhips. He was alſo highly delighted with a gilt tin globe which repreſented the face of the heavens, and being turned on its axis, ſhewed the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, together with the motions of the planets and heavenly bodies; a wonderful contrivance for that age. Tycho, obſerving the delight of the young king, preſented this machine to his majeſty, who accepted it, gave him in return a gold chain, and aſſured him of his unalterable protection and attachment.

Notwithſtanding, however, theſe aſſurances, the king's youth was worked upon by thoſe courtiers who were envious of the aſtronomer's merit, or who had been offended by the violence of his temper, and the ſeverity of his ſatire, and under various pretences prevailed on Chriſtian to deprive him of his penſion, and the canonry of Roſkild.

Tycho,

Tycho, thus deprived of the means to ſupport the great expences of his eſtabliſhment at Uranienburgh, quitted with chagrin his favourite reſidence, and repaired to his houſe at Copenhagen, where he waited for an opportunity to retire from his native country. Having tranſported from Uranienburgh all the inſtruments and apparatus which could be removed, he departed from Copenhagen, with his wife and family, landed at Roſtock, and remained a year at Wanſbeck with his learned friend Henry Rantzau.

Having dedicated a treatiſe on aſtronomy to the emperor Rhodolph the Second, he accepted a flattering invitation from that monarch, and repaired to Prague in 1599. The emperor received him in the kindeſt and moſt honourable manner, built for him an obſervatory and laboratory, ſettled on him an ample penſion, and treated him with the higheſt marks of deference and reſpect.

In the ſervice of Rhodolph he paſſed the remainder of his days, but did not live long to enjoy his protection. He had enjoyed a good ſtate of health till the year previous to his death, when his conſtitution, ſomewhat weakened by intenſe application, was ſtill farther ſhattered by the chagrin occaſioned by his removal from Uranienburgh. At that period he began

gan to experience ſymptoms of complaints which announced his approaching diſſolution; but which he concealed as much as poſſible from his friends. He was reduced, however, to ſo low a ſtate as to be affected with the moſt trifling circumſtances, which he conſidered as prodigies, and would frequently interrupt his ſallies of wit with ſudden reflections on death.

The immediate cauſe of his deceaſe was a ſtrangury, which being attended with the moſt excruciating torments, brought on a violent fever, and a temporary delirium; in the midſt of which he was heard repeatedly to cry out, "Ne fruſtra vixiſſe videar *" The delirium at length ſubſiding, he became compoſed, and recovered his ſenſes; but from his extreme weakneſs, perceived that he had not many hours to live. Accordingly he gave orders with the utmoſt coolneſs and reſignation, amuſed himſelf with compoſing an extempore copy of verſes, ſung various hymns, offered up prayers and ſupplications to the Supreme Being, recommended to his family and friends, piety and reſignation to the divine will, exhorted his pupils to perſevere in their ſtudies, and converſed with Kepler on the abſtruſe parts of aſtronomy. Thus, amidſt prayers, exhortations, and literary converſation,

* That I may not ſeem to have lived in vain.

he

he expired ſo peaceably, that he was neither heard nor ſeen *, by any of thoſe who were preſent, to breathe his laſt. He died in October 1601, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

It is remarkable, that this enlightened aſtronomer was ſo infected with the rage of ſyſtem-making as to reject the ſimple and beautiful ſyſtem of Copernicus, eſtabliſhed by the moſt incontrovertible proofs, and endeavour to reconcile the abſurdities of the Ptolemaic hypotheſis. He was, indeed, too well acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies, not to be convinced that the ſun was the centre of the ſyſtem; and though ſtruck with the ſimplicity and harmony of that of Pythagoras, revived by Copernicus, yet out of reſpect for ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, he abſurdly endeavoured to reconcile (what were never intended to be reconciled) his learning with his faith. He rejected the diurnal rotation of the earth on its own axis; ſuppoſed that the earth was quieſcent; that the ſun, with all the planets, was carried about the earth in the ſpace of a year, and that the planets, by their proper motions, revolved round the ſun in their ſeveral periods; thus retaining the moſt abſurd part of the Ptolemaic hypotheſis, which makes the whole plane-

* Tam tranquille ut nec deficere nec viſus ſit nec auditus. Oratio Funebris, p. 27.

tary

tary ſyſtem revolve round the earth in the ſpace of twenty-four hours.

Tycho, indeed, was ſo bigotted to his own hypotheſis, even in his laſt moments, as to deſire his favourite ſcholar, the great Kepler, to follow his ſyſtem rather than that of Copernicus.

If we were to eſtimate the merits of Tycho Brahe as an aſtronomer, we ſhould compare the ſcience as he left it with the ſtate in which he found it. His great merit conſiſted in his inventions and improvements of mathematical inſtruments, and in the diligence and exactneſs with which he made aſtronomical obſervations for a ſeries of years. As his inſtruments were remarkably good, he compoſed a catalogue of 777 fixed ſtars, obſerved by himſelf, with an accuracy unknown to former aſtronomers; he diſcovered the refraction of the air, demonſtrated, contrary to the prevailing opinion of thoſe times, that the comets were higher than the moon, and from his obſervations on the moon and planets, the theories of their motions were afterwards corrected and improved*. He was the firſt who compoſed a table of refractions, and ſhewed their uſe in aſtronomy. Such is the reputation

* See Bonnycaſtle's Introduction to Aſtronomy, p. 61.

of

of Tycho Brahe, for his great proficiency in that ſcience, that Coſtard, in the Hiſtory of Aſtronomy, has fixed on his name for the beginning of a new period.

He embraced a large circle of the arts and ſciences. He cultivated poetry, and wrote Latin verſes, not without ſome degree of claſſic elegance. He drew the plan for building the caſtle of Cronborg, and ſketched the deſign for the noble mauſoleum of Frederic the Second, which was executed in Italy, and is erected in the cathedral of Roſkild. He dabbled alſo in phyſic; was fond of being conſulted, and gave his advice and medicines gratis; he invented an elixir, which he calls an infallible cure for epidemic diſorders, of which he publiſhed the recipe in a letter to the emperor Rhodolph.

He was a good mechanic. He poſſeſſed ſeveral automates, took great delight in ſhewing them to the peaſants, and was gratified if they were conſidered as ſpirits. Tycho was no leſs fond of being conſulted as a fortune-teller, and willingly encouraged an opinion, that his knowledge of the heavenly bodies enabled him to obſerve horoſcopes, and foretel events. Traditional fables of his predictions have been handed down to poſterity, which ſhew his proneneſs to judicial aſtrology, and the weakneſs of thoſe who believed his predictions.

At Uranienburgh Tycho Brahe had ſeveral contrivances calculated to deceive and aſtoniſh thoſe who came to viſit and conſult him. Among others, ſeveral bells, communicated with the rooms in the upper ſtory, inhabited by his ſcholars, the handles of which were concealed in his own apartments. Frequently, when company was with him, he would pretend to want ſomething, and having ſecretly pulled the bell, would cry out, "Come hither, Peter," "Come hither, Chriſtian," and was pleaſed to obſerve the aſtoniſhment of the company, who, not hearing the bells, were ſurprized at the appearance of the perſon thus ſummoned.

He was equally devoted to the ſtudy of chymiſtry, and expended as much on the terreſtrial aſtronomy, as he ſtyles it, as on the celeſtial. He left, indeed, no writings on that ſcience, although he intended to publiſh a ſelection of his experiments, made with great labour and expence; yet he adds, in the true cant of alchymy, "On conſideration, and by the advice of the moſt illuſtrious as well as the moſt learned men, I deem it improper to unfold the ſecrets of the art to the vulgar, as few people are capable of uſing its myſteries to advantage, and without detriment."

His foibles were as prominent as his virtues and capacity. He was of a moroſe and unbend-

ing

ing diſpoſition, indulged himſelf in too great freedom of ſpeech *; but while he rallied others was not pleaſed to be rallied himſelf.

He was greatly addicted to judicial aſtrology, and prone to credulity and ſuperſtition unbecoming his learning and judgment. If he met an old woman, he would inſtantly return home, and conſidered an hare as an ill omen. At Uranienburgh he had a fool, by name Sep, who was accuſtomed during dinner to ſit at his feet, and whom he fed with his own hand. This man was continually uttering incoherent expreſſions, which Tycho noted down, from a perſuaſion that the mind, in a ſtate of emotion, was capable of predicting future events; and even believed, if any inhabitant of the iſland was taken ill, that this idiot could predict his recovery or deceaſe. He maintained, that the cabala and magic, if they did not act to the offence of God or man, could lay open many abſtruſe things by figures, images, and marks.

But to turn from the unfavourable to the brighter parts of his character, we may aſſent to the truth of the eulogium given by his panegyriſt; to Tycho Brahe his ſtudies were life, medi-

* Nihil fictum; nihil ſimulatum in ipſo; *ſed ſcaphum ſcaphum* appellabat; unde omne quod ſuſtinuit odium.—Or. Fun. 269.

tation

tation delight, ſcience riches, virtue nobility, and religion his conſtant guide *.

* Ipſi vita ſtudia erant; deliciæ vero meditatio; divitiæ ſcientiæ; virtus nobilitas; religio directio.—Oratio Funebris.

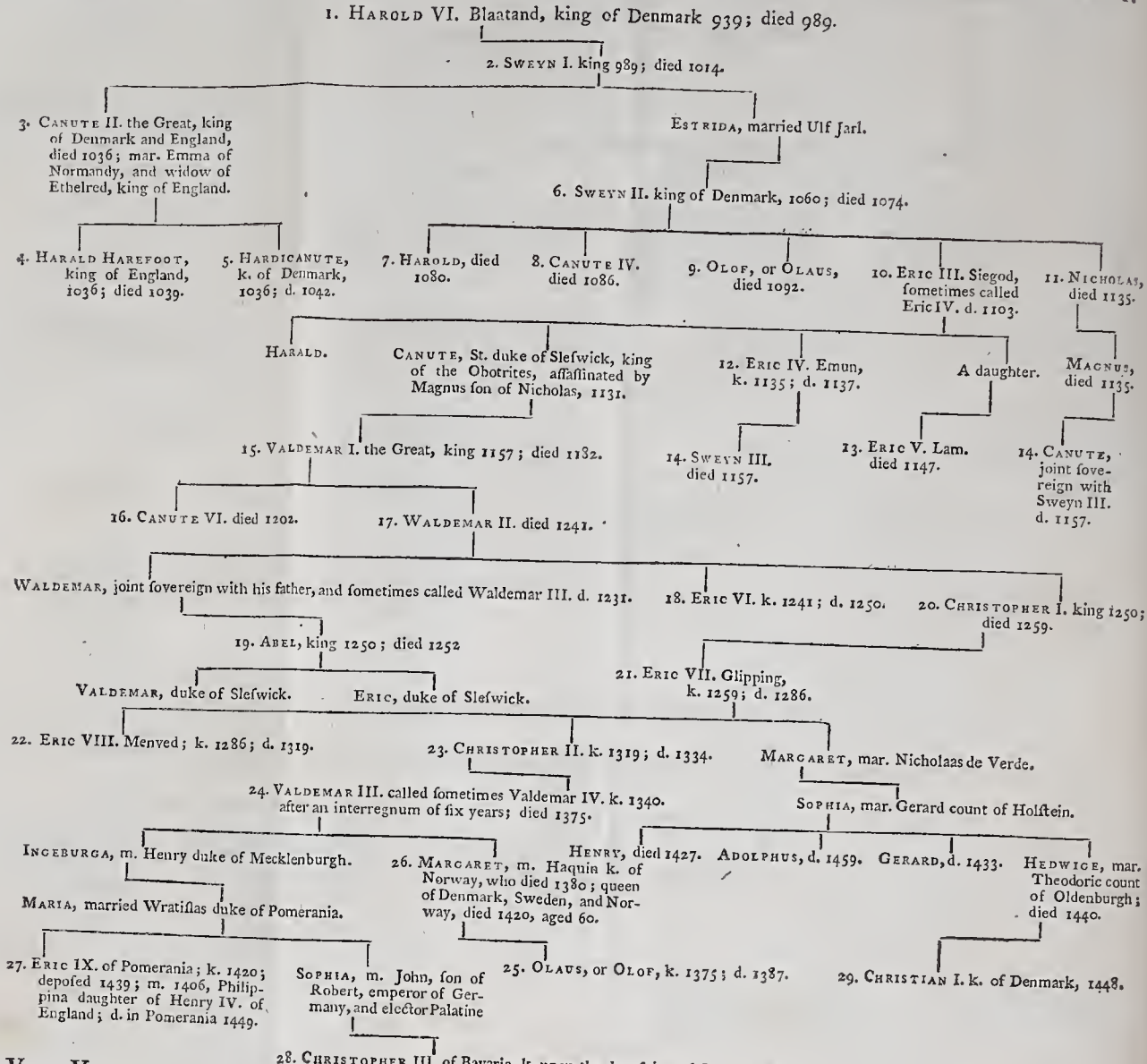
Genealogical Table of the KINGS of DENMARK of the Houſe of OLDENBURGH.

1. CHRISTIAN I. count of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, 1448: died 1481.

- 2. JOHN, died 1513.
  - 3. CHRISTIAN II. depoſed 1523; m. Elizabeth ſiſter of the emperor Charles V. died 1559.
    - JOHN, died 1532, at Ratiſbon, aged 14.
    - DOROTHY, m. in 1532, Frederic II. elector palatine; and died 1580, without iſſue.
    - CHRISTINA, m. 1. Francis Sforza duke of Milan; 2. Francis duke of Loraine, from whom deſcended, in a regular line, Francis late emperor of Germany.
- MARGARET, mar. James III. k. of Scotland.
- 4. FREDERIC I. k. upon the depoſition of Chriſtian II. in 1523; d. 1533; mar. 1. Anne of Brandenburgh; 2. Sophia, princeſs of Pomerania Stettin.
  - 5. CHRISTIAN III. died 1558; mar. Dorothy of Saxe Lawenburgh.
    - 6. FREDERIC II. b. 1534; d. 1588; m. Sophia princeſs of Mecklenburgh.
      - ELIZABETH, b. 1573; m. Henry duke of Brunſwick Lunenburgh.
      - ANNE, b 1574; m. James king of England.
    - MAGNUS, b. 1540; biſhop of Æſel and Pilten, and titular k. of Livonia; d. 1583.
    - JOHN, duke of Sleſwick, b. 1545; died 1622; author of the branches of Sonderborg, Norborg, Gluckſborg, and Plæn.
      - 7. CHRISTIAN IV. b. 1577; d. 1648; m. Anne Catharine princeſs of Brandenburgh.
        - CHRISTIAN, b. 1603; died 1647.
        - 8. FREDERIC III. b. 1609; d. 1670; m. Sophia Amelia, princeſs of Brunſwick Lunenburgh.
          - 9. CHRISTIAN V. b. 1646; d. 1699; m. Charlotte Amelia of Heſſe Caſſel.
            - 10. FREDERIC IV. b. 1671; d. 1730.
              - 11. CHRISTIAN VI. b. 1699; d. 1746; mar. Chriſtina Sophia princeſs of Brandenburgh Bareith.
                - 12. FREDERIC V. born 1723; died 1766; mar. 1. Louiſa, daughter of George II. King of England; 2. Juliana Maria, daughter of Ferdinand Albert of Brunſwick-Wolfenbottel.
                  - 13. CHRISTIAN VII. b. 1749; mar. Matilda, ſiſter of George III. king of England.
                    - FREDERIC, born 1768; m. daughter of Charles prince of Heſſe-Caſſel.
                    - LOUISA AUGUSTA, b. 1771; m. Frederic Chriſtian, hereditary prince of Holſtein-Sonderborg-Auguſtenborg.
                  - SOPHIA MAGDALENA, born 1746; m. Guſtavus III. the late king of Sweden.
                  - WILHELMINA CAROLINA, b. 1750; m. William hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel.
                  - LOUISA, b. 1750; m. Charles ſecond ſon of Frederic, Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel.
                  - FREDERIC, b. 1753; m. Sophia Frederica princeſs of Mecklenburgh Schwerin.
    - ADOLPHUS, author of the line of the dukes of Holſtein-Gottorp, from whom deſcended Peter III. of Ruſſia.
    - ELIZABETH, m. Ulric duke of Mecklenburgh.
      - SOPHIA, m. Frederic II.
    - DOROTHY, b. 1546; m. Maximilian duke of Lunenburgh; from whom the electors of Hanover.
      - JOHN, b. 1583; died at Moſcow 1602.
      - ULRIC, d. 1605.
      - Several daughters, among whom Ulrica Eleonora, m. to Charles XI. king of Sweden.

In

Genealogical Table of the KINGS of DENMARK, from HARALD BLAATAND to CHRISTIAN I.



CHAP. 8.

Journey through the Iſle of Zealand.—Roſkild.—Cathedral.—Sepulchres and characters of the Daniſh ſovereigns, Harald Blaatand.—Sweyn II.—Margaret.—Chriſtian I.——Saxo-Grammaticus.—Royal ſepulchres at Ringſted.—Paſſage acroſs the Great Belt.—Iſle of Funen.—Odenſee.—Tombs and characters of John and Chriſtian II.—Paſſage acroſs the Little Belt.—Journey through Sleſwic and Holſtein.—Canal of Kiel.—Eutin.—Lubec.—Travemunde.—General remarks on the circular ranges of ſtones frequent in Sweden and Denmark.—Genealogical tables of the kings of Denmark.

APRIL 5. Quitting Copenhagen we paſſed along an excellent road, through a well-cultivated open country, to Roſkild, formerly the royal reſidence and metropolis of Denmark. It ſtands at a ſmall diſtance from the Iſefiord, or bay of Iſe; and, in its flouriſhing ſtate, was of great extent, comprizing within its walls 27 churches, and as many convents *; but the preſent circumference is ſcarcely half an Engliſh mile, and the population only 1,620 ſouls; the houſes are of brick, and have a neat appearance.

The only remains of former magnificence are the ruins of a palace, and the cathedral, a brick

* Holberg, vol. I. p. 618.

building with two ſpires, in which the kings of Denmark are interred, and which, according to an inſcription in the choir, was founded * by Harald VI. who is ſtyled king of Denmark, England, and Norway. Some verſes, in barbarous Latin, obſcurely allude to the principal incidents of his life; adding, that he built this church, and died in 980 †. Harald, ſurnamed Blaatand, was ſon of Gormo III. called the Old, and the firſt king of Denmark who embraced the Chriſtian religion. His name occurs in the Saxon Chronicles as one of the invaders of England in the 10th century, where he eſtabliſhed his authority over the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and of Northumberland. But his hiſtory is ſo mixed with fable, that glaring contradictions appear in almoſt every incident. He loſt his life in conſequence of an inſurrection headed by his ſon Sweyn; but whether he was ſlain in battle, or by the rebel party, is not known.

Harald was father of a line of kings, who raiſed the power of Denmark to the higheſt

* Little of the original building now remains. According to Holberg, it was conſtructed of wood, and afterwards built with ſtone in the reign of Canute.

† Funditus haſce Jovi ſummo tunc condidit ædes,
Poſt natale Dei, dum ſcripſimus octuaginta
Nongentos, meruit ſcandere celſa poli.

greatneſs.

greatneſs. His ſon, Sweyn I. is well known in our annals for his depredations and tributary exactions; and his grandſon Canute the Great, who united, in his perſon, the crowns of England and Denmark, was the moſt powerful prince of his time. The immediate deſcendants of Harald Blaatand died and were buried in England; and his male line was extinct in the perſon of Hardicanute, the laſt ſovereign who wore the two crowns.

In the ſame cathedral reſt the remains of Sweyn II. the firſt of a line of ſovereigns, called the Middle Race. He was ſon of Ulf, governor of Denmark, who greatly ſignalized himſelf in war, by Eſtrida, ſiſter of Canute the Great. Ulf being put to death at Roſkild, by order of Canute, Sweyn fled into Sweden, and on the death of Hardicanute in 1042, claimed the crown of Denmark in right of his mother; for which reaſon he is generally known by the appellation of Sweyn the ſon of Eſtrida. The ſtates, however, gave the preference to Magnus the Good, king of Norway; but on his death in 1047, unanimouſly elected Sweyn, who, by his abilities, had deſerved his elevation. In a Latin inſcription, he is called king of England, as well as of Denmark and Norway; although the crown of England had been reſtored to the Saxon line in the perſon of

Edward the Confeſſor, and was afterwards ſeized by William the Conqueror. Sweyn ſent a fleet againſt England, to aſſert his right to the throne, as a lineal deſcendant from Canute the Great; but his troops were either defeated by William, or obliged to evacute the iſland through the treachery of his brother. Sweyn is deſcribed by a contemporary hiſtorian *, who perſonally knew him, as a prince polite to foreigners, of elegant manners, and great literary accompliſhments. He died in 1074, leaving thirteen ſons and two daughters; five of the ſons ſucceſſively filled the throne of Denmark; and his poſterity, in the male line, held it in poſſeſſion until 1387, when Valdemar III. dying without male iſſue, the female branch ſucceeded; firſt in the perſon of Oloff II. ſon of the celebrated Margaret, and on his deceaſe, in that of Margaret herſelf, whoſe aſhes are alſo interred in this cathedral.

The ſepulchre of this remarkable woman, ſtyled the Semiramis of the North, ſtands conſpicuous in the middle of the church, and is encloſed within a baluſtrade. The monument is of ſtone painted black, and on it lies the figure of the queen in alabaſter, a whole length, and,

* See the quotation from Adams Bremen in Pontoppidan's Mar. Dan. p. 2.

as we were informed, her exact ſize when alive. An inſcription on the tomb, inſtead of enlarging in long fulſome flatteries, ſuch as are uſually paid to ſovereigns, records the time of her death, and adds, "it was raiſed at the expence of Eric of Pomerania, in memory of a princeſs whom poſterity could never ſufficiently honour as ſhe deſerves." Leſs could not be ſaid of a perſonage who juſtly claims our reſpect and veneration, and whoſe glorious reign has ſcarcely its parallel in the records of hiſtory. Margaret, daughter of Valdemar III. by Hedwige his queen, was born in 1353; and, if we may credit ſome Daniſh hiſtorians, owed her being to a circumſtance as ſingular as her life was illuſtrious and eminent. Valdemar, returning from a hunting party, chanced to repair to the caſtle of Seborg, where he had confined his conſort Hedwige on account of ſome ill-grounded ſuſpicions. Being pleaſed with one of the queen's attendants, he propoſed an interview; the woman feigned compliance, but ſubſtituted her miſtreſs in her ſtead, and Margaret was the fruit of the meeting; which has led a Daniſh hiſtorian * to remark, in the high ſtyle of

* "Regina eadem ſui mariti & pellex, & uxor, & concubina. Quid ad hanc ſcenam Herculis navitas aut in Alcmenæ ſinu Jupiter decumbens. Sanè autem plus eâ nocte Valdemarus fecit boni

of panegyric, that the good which he unconſciouſly performed that night in begetting Margaret, amply compenſated for all the evil actions of his life. In the ſixth year of her age ſhe was betrothed to Haquin, king of Norway, ſon of Magnus king of Sweden, which was the firſt ſtep to her future greatneſs. This marriage, after much oppoſition on the part of the Swedes, was ſolemnized at Copenhagen, in 1363, when ſhe was only in the eleventh year of her age. Margaret gave ſo many proofs of her prudence and courage when Haquin loſt the crown of Sweden, as induced Valdemar frequently to ſay of her, that nature intended her for a man, and had erred in making her a woman *,

On the demiſe of her father in 1375, ſhe had the addreſs to obtain the election of her ſon Oloff, then only five years of age, in preference to the ſon of her eldeſt ſiſter Ingeburga; and on the death of Haquin, ſecured his ſucceſſion to the crown of Norway. Being regent during Oloff's minority, her adminiſtration was ſo vigorous, prudent, and popular, that, on his premature death in 1385, ſhe was choſen queen

inſcius quàm per omnem vitam ſciens fecerat mali; qui prætioſiſſimam vitam donavit orbi tot regnorum compotem futuram Margaretam, & legem tranſgrediendo, felicem Daniam effecit." Berengii Florus Danicus, p. 506.

* Pontani Hiſt. Dan. 544.

by

by the ſtates of Denmark; the firſt inſtance, perhaps, in a government wholly elective, of a woman exalted to the throne by the free and unanimous ſuffrages of a warlike people. With the ſame addreſs ſhe procured the crown of Norway; and was equally ſucceſsful in gaining that of Sweden. Albert was choſen king, and might have preſerved his power, had it not been his fate to contend with ſuch a rival as Margaret. In alluſion to her ſex, he ſtyled her, in deriſion, the king in petticoats; ſhe anſwered his reproach by actions, not by words, and made him ſorely repent of his vaunts, when he found himſelf worſted in every engagement; when depoſed and captive, he owed his life to the clemency of the very woman whom he had wantonly inſulted. By the famous union of Calmar, in 1397, ſhe united the three Northern kingdoms, and held them undivided during her reign, notwithſtanding the averſion of the Swedes to the Daniſh government. But in no inſtance does the vigour and policy of her conduct appear more conſpicuous than from this conſideration; that the revolts and inteſtine convulſions, which continually diſturbed the reigns of the ſovereigns who immediately preceded and followed her, were ſubdued during her whole adminiſtration. This internal tranquillity, more glorious, though leſs ſplendid, than her warlike

atchievements, and which was unuſual in thoſe turbulent times, could only be derived from the commanding aſcendancy of her ſuperior genius.

This great princeſs died ſuddenly on the 27th of October 1412, in the 60th year of her age, and, if we include the period of her regency, in the 30th of her reign, leaving to her ſucceſſor the quiet poſſeſſion of the three kingdoms, and to her ſubjects the regret of her loſs, by the experience of thoſe calamities which burſt upon the ſtate when the ſceptre was wielded by a leſs able hand. Her remains were firſt depoſited at Soroe, but removed to this cathedral by order of the biſhop of Roſkild *.

All the ſovereigns of the houſe of Oldenburgh, which ſtill poſſeſſes the throne of Denmark, are interred in the cathedral of Roſkild, excepting John, Chriſtian II. and Frederic I.

Chriſtian I. the father of this line, lies in a ſmall chapel, without monument or inſcription. He was count of Oldenburgh, and owed his elevation, as well to his lineal deſcent from Eric VII. as to the moderation of his uncle Adolphus duke of Sleſwick. On the death of Chriſtopher of Bavaria without iſſue, the ſtates of Denmark offered the throne to Adolphus, as the neareſt

* Hic primùm ſepulta, ſed poſtea per Dominum Petrum Epiſcopum Roſkildenſem violenter tranſlata, & Roſkildis ſepulta. Langebek, tom. IV. p. 542.

in

in blood to the deceaſed monarch; but he declining it on account of his advanced age, they, at his recommendation, elected his nephew Chriſtian, then in the 22d year of his age. This event happened in 1448; and in the ſame year he obtained the throne of Norway, in right of his deſcent from one of their antient kings. In 1558, on the depoſition of Charles Canutſon, he received the crown of Sweden, but wore it only a ſhort time, as well through his own inactivity, as through the averſion of the Swedes to a foreign ruler. Chriſtian I. reigned three-and-twenty years; a ſovereign of great moderation and humanity; whoſe qualities, being leſs ſhining than ſolid, were more adapted to the interior adminiſtration of affairs, than to the exploits of war. He is juſtly characterized by an hiſtorian, as one of thoſe princes who do not attract the admiration of mankind, yet whom Providence never beſtows on a nation but as a ſignal mark of favour *.

The ſucceſſors of Chriſtian I. who are buried in the ſame church, ſeem in general to have inherited his pacific qualities; as all, except Fre-

* "Plus grand aux yeux de la ſaine raiſon qu'à ceux du vulgaire, il fut peut-être un de ces princes que les peuples ne louent que foiblement, mais que le Ciel ne leur accorde que quand il veut leur prouver ſon amour." Mallet, Hiſt. de Dan. tom. II. p. 95.

deric

deric II. and V. and Chriſtian IV. were princes of mild and temperate diſpoſitions; patrons of the arts and ſciences, rather than enterprizing in arms; who yielded to others the palm of military glory, and for the moſt part ſhrunk before the daring ſpirit which animated the rival houſe of Vaſa.

In the ſame chapel are the tombs of Chriſtian III. and Frederic II. Their ſuperb monuments, executed in Italy, at the expence of Chriſtian IV. are eſteemed maſter-pieces of ſculpture. The ſtatues of the two ſovereigns are as large as life, under a canopy of ſtone, ſupported by Corinthian pillars. Several figures of angels, and the baſſo relievos round the mauſoleum of Frederic II. repreſenting that prince's battles, are much admired. No tomb is erected to the memory of Chriſtian IV. juſtly called, by Wraxall, the Idol of Daniſh Hiſtory: his body is depoſited in a coffin covered with velvet, ornamented with ſilver trophies, eſcutcheons, and angels holding crowns of laurel.

It would be tedious to enumerate the other ſepulchres of the royal family, moſt of which are loaded with inſcriptions of great length; the reader, who is deſirous of further information, will find them accurately tranſcribed in Pontoppidan's *Marmora Danica*, and in Travels through Denmark, publiſhed in 1702.

The

The annexed genealogical tables trace in regular deſcent the Kings of Denmark, from Harald Blaatand to the preſent ſovereign.

In addition to theſe royal ſepulchres, I ſhall mention that of Saxo-Grammaticus, the moſt antient hiſtorian of Denmark.

Saxo, deſcended from an illuſtrious Daniſh * family, was born about the middle of the twelfth century †, and, on account of his uncommon learning, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Grammaticus*. He was provoſt of the cathedral church of Roſkild, and warmly patronized by the learned and warlike Abſalon, the celebrated archbiſhop of Lunden, at whoſe inſtigation he wrote the hiſtory of Denmark. His epitaph, a dry panegyric in bad Latin verſes, gives no account of the æra of his death, which happened, according to Stephens, in 1204. His hiſtory, conſiſting of 16 books, begins from the earlieſt æra of the Daniſh annals, and concludes with the year 1186. According to the opinion of an

* Some authors have erroneouſly conjectured, from his name Saxo, that he was born in Saxony; but Saxo was no uncommon appellation among the antient Danes. See Olaus Wormius Monumenta Danica, p. 186, and Stephens's Prolegomena, p. 10.

† Stephens, in his edition of Saxo-Grammaticus, printed at Soroe, indubitably proves, that he muſt have been alive in 1156, but cannot aſcertain the exact place and time of his birth. See Stephens's Prolegomena to the Notes on Saxo-Grammaticus, p. 8 to 24; alſo Holberg, vol. I. p. 269; and Mallet's North. Antiq. vol. I. p. 4.

accurate

accurate writer *, the firſt part, which relates to the origin of the Danes, and the reigns of the antient kings, is full of fables; but the eight laſt books, and particularly thoſe which regard the events of his own times, deſerve the utmoſt credit. He wrote in Latin, and the ſtyle, if we conſider the barbarous age in which he flouriſhed, is in general extremely elegant, but rather too poetical for hiſtory †.

After having ſatisfied our curioſity in examining the tombs of Roſkild, we continued our journey, and paſſed the night at Ringſted, a ſmall, but neat, town, ſituated almoſt in the centre of the iſland: according to ſome antiquaries, it was built by Sigurd Ring, king of Denmark, who reigned in the 7th century; but this notion ſeems merely founded on the ſimilarity of the name. The church, which is eſteemed the moſt antient Chriſtian temple in Denmark, is a brick building, with two low

* Holberg.

† Mallet, in his Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, vol. I. p. 182, ſays, "that Sperling, a writer of great erudition, has proved, in contradiction to the aſſertions of Stephens and others, that Saxo-Grammaticus was ſecretary to Abſalon; and that the Saxo provoſt of Roſkild, was another perſon, and lived earlier." If ſo, Saxo-Grammaticus, the hiſtorian, is probably not buried at Roſkild; but I truſt the reader will not be diſpleaſed with the account of an author ſo little known as Saxo-Grammaticus.

ſquare

ſquare towers. Within, ſeveral Daniſh kings of the houſe of Sweyn II. are interred. The tombs are much more ſimple than thoſe at Roſkild; being generally plain ſlabs level with the pavement, exhibiting figures in armour carved on plates of braſs, or on the naked ſtone, with Latin inſcriptions, moſtly effaced by time. A few of the ſepulchres, which are ſomewhat more modern, are raiſed in the ſhape of coffins. The firſt ſovereign buried in this church is Waldemar I. who expired in 1182: and the laſt is Eric VIII. ſurnamed Manved, who died in 1319.

April 6. We purſued our route to Corſoer, the place of embarkation, on the Great Belt, which ſeparates the Iſle of Zealand from that of Funen. Corſoer ſtands on the weſtern point of the Iſle of Zealand on a ſmall peninſula, has a good harbour for light veſſels, and is fortified by a citadel defended by a rampart of earth and baſtions, with a few uſeleſs cannon, more for form than ſervice. It contains the commander's houſe, formerly a royal palace, and a granary, and is garriſoned by a few invalids.

Zealand, which we croſſed in our way from Copenhagen to Corſoer, is the largeſt of the iſles belonging to the king of Denmark, being about 700 miles in circumference. That part which we traverſed appears a gently waving ſur-

face,

face; for the moſt part open, dotted occaſionally with ſmall woods of beech and oak, and diverſified with beautiful lakes. The iſland is exceedingly fertile: it produces grain of all ſorts, and in great plenty, abounds with excellent paſture, and is famous for its breed of horſes. The fields, which ſeemed well cultivated, were in many parts formed into incloſures, ſeparated by mud walls: a few cottages were of brick; but the generality were of mud white-waſhed.

April 8. The wind blowing high, and directly contrary, we were detained two days at Corſoer before we embarked for the Iſle of Funen; the diſtance between the neareſt points on each coaſt is 18 miles. At mid-day we paſſed the ſmall iſland of Sproe, near which lay a guard-ſhip, for the purpoſe of collecting toll from all veſſels which paſſed between that iſland and Zealand; other ſhips pay their duty at Nyborg. Sproe contains only two buildings, a ſmall inn for the occaſional refreſhment of the guard-ſhip's crew, and a neat farm-houſe; it produces grain and paſture. On the top of an height overlooking the ſea, we obſerved the ruins of an antient fortreſs, which formerly belonged to pirates, who uſed to reſort in great numbers to this iſland.

After a favourable paſſage of four hours, we landed at Nyborg, a ſmall well-built town, in the

the Iſle of Funen, ſtanding on a commodious bay. The town is ſurrounded with a rampart and ditch, and garriſoned by a company of invalids. An inſcription over an old ſquare building informed me, that Chriſtian III. ſon of Frederic I. raiſed the fortifications. Towards the ſkirts of the town, and cloſe to the ramparts, are the remains of an old palace, in which Chriſtian II. was born; and to the roof of which, as his biographer * relates, he was conveyed, while an infant, by a tame monkey, and brought down without receiving the leaſt harm.

In the afternoon we reached Odenſee, the capital of Funen; a place of ſuch high antiquity, that ſome Daniſh writers derive its foundation and name from Oden, the god and hero of the Gothic nations. But leaving ſuch diſquiſitions to the antiquaries of the country, I ſhall only obſerve, that its name occurs in the earlieſt ages of the Daniſh hiſtory; and that it was a town of great note long before Copenhagen exiſted. Odenſee ſtands on a ſmall river, which is not navigable two miles from the Bay of Stegeſtrand. Many of the houſes are antient, bearing dates about the middle of the 16th century; but part is newly built: it contains 5,200 inhabitants, who carry on ſome commerce, ex-

* Svaning Vit. Chriſt. II.

porting

porting chiefly grain and leather; the latter is much eſteemed, and its goodneſs is ſuppoſed to ariſe from a certain property in the river water, in which it is ſoaked for tanning. The Daniſh cavalry are ſupplied from thence with the greater part of their leathern accoutrements.

Odenſee is an epiſcopal ſee, which was founded by Harald Blaatand in 980, and is the richeſt in Denmark next to Copenhagen. It has a ſchool, endowed by the celebrated Margaret, in which a certain number of ſcholars, from ſix to ſixteen years of age, are inſtructed gratis: they lodge and board in the town, and receive yearly penſions; other ſcholarſhips have been alſo founded by private perſons. The whole number amounted to ſeventy. There is alſo a *gymnaſium*, inſtituted by Chriſtian IV. for the admiſſion of ſtudents at the age of ſixteen. This ſeminary was ſtill further improved by the liberality of Holberg the Daniſh hiſtorian, who protected letters with the ſame zeal with which he cultivated them; but it is now greatly fallen from its former flouriſhing ſtate, containing, when I paſſed through the town, only eight ſtudents. The cathedral is a large old brick building, which has nothing remarkable, except ſome coſtly monuments of a private Daniſh family. The church, which formerly belonged to the convent

convent of Recolets, contains the ſepulchres of John and Chriſtian II.

John aſcended the throne in 1481, on the death of his father Chriſtian I. and in 1497, renewing the union of Calmar, obtained the crown of Sweden, which the Swedes, however, did not long permit him to enjoy. He died on the 12th of February 1513, having on his death-bed admoniſhed his ſon Chriſtian II.; admonitions which had no effect on a breaſt already corrupted by power, and impatient for dominion. John would have acted more wiſely had he endeavoured to render the infant mind of his ſon capable of receiving the impreſſions of virtue, and had not ſhamefully neglected his education; a crime highly reprehenſible in a father, but unpardonable in a ſovereign, who is perhaps rearing a tyrant for his ſubjects, and entailing on his country a ſeries of evils, for which he is himſelf chiefly accountable. Hiſtorians agree in repreſenting John as a wiſe and prudent prince, inclined to peace, but enterprizing in war; and as generally moderate and humane; admitting, however, that he perpetrated occaſional acts of violence and cruelty, derived from a ſpecies of melancholy madneſs, that preyed upon his mind, and at times deprived him of his ſenſes.

His ſon, the cruel and unfortunate Chriſtian II.

is entombed near his father, under a plain grave-ſtone, ſomewhat raiſed, but without inſcription. He was born at Nyborg, on the 2d of July 1481; and diſcovered in his youth ſymptoms of a lively genius and good underſtanding, which, if properly cultivated, might have rendered him the ornament, inſtead of the diſhonour, of his country. The young prince was entruſted to a common burgher of Copenhagen, and afterwards removed to the houſe of a ſchoolmaſter, who was a canon of the cathedral. In this ſituation his chief employment conſiſted in regularly accompanying his maſter to church, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf beyond the other ſcholars and choriſters in chanting and ſinging pſalms. He was afterwards conſigned to the tuition of a German preceptor, a man of learning, but a pedant; under whom, however, he made a conſiderable proficiency in the Latin tongue. From this humble education Chriſtian imbibed a taſte for bad company, and was accuſtomed to haunt the common taverns, to mix with the populace, to ſcour the ſtreets, and to be guilty of every exceſs. The king at length, informed of thoſe irregularities, reproved him ſeverely; but as the prince had already contracted habits, which were grown too ſtrong to be eradicated, theſe admonitions were too late. He feigned, however, contrition for his paſt behaviour,

behaviour, and again won the affections of his father by his military ſucceſſes in Norway, and by an unwearied application to the affairs of government.

During the firſt years of his reign, which commenced in 1513, his adminiſtration was in many reſpects worthy of praiſe; and the excellence of many of his laws, has induced Holberg* to affirm, that if the character of Chriſtian II. was to be determined by his laws, and not by his actions, he would merit the appellation of Good, rather than of Tyrant. Happy would it have been for himſelf and his people, had he continued to reign on the ſame principles.

At firſt all his enterprizes were crowned with ſucceſs: he abridged the power of the Daniſh nobility, and exalted the regal prerogatives; he obtained the crown of Sweden by conqueſt, and was even proclaimed hereditary ſovereign of that kingdom. A prudent and temperate uſe of theſe advantages might have enſured him a long and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the throne; but his natural diſpoſition, now freed from all reſtraint by proſperity, hurried him to the perpetration of the moſt flagrant acts of tyranny. The dreadful maſſacre of Stockholm, in which ſix

* Dan. Geſ. vol. II. p. 94.

hundred of the principal nobility were put to the ſword, under the ſemblance of law, and amid the rejoicings for his coronation, exhibited ſuch a ſtriking inſtance of his malignant and implacable character, that, on the ſucceſs of Guſtavus Vaſa, the ſpirit of reſiſtance diffuſed itſelf rapidly from Sweden to Denmark; where he had exaſperated his ſubjects by repeated oppreſſions, and the confidence which he placed in the loweſt and moſt worthleſs favourites *.

In

* The firſt of theſe favourites was the infamous Sigrebit, mother of the king's miſtreſs Diveke. This artful woman, who was a native of Holland, and had kept an inn at Berghen in Norway, even after her daughter's death, retained ſuch power that ſhe might be ſtyled prime miniſter: ſhe was the only channel of favour, tranſacted all affairs of importance, had the care of the finances, ſuperintended the cuſtoms of the Sound, and had, in a word, acquired ſuch a wonderful aſcendency over the infatuated monarch, that her influence was attributed to faſcination. On the king's depoſition, Sigrebit was ſo much deteſted, that, from apprehenſions of the popular fury, ſhe was conveyed in a cheſt on board the veſſel which carried Chriſtian from Denmark. Holberg adds, ſhe conſoled the king for the loſs of his crown, by aſſuring him, that, through the emperor's intereſt, he could not fail of being choſen burgomaſter of Amſterdam. The particulars of this woman's life, ſubſequent to her eſcape from Denmark, are not known.

The other favourite of Chriſtian, no leſs infamous than the former, was Nicholas Slagelbec, originally a barber of Weſtphalia, and recommended to the king by his relation Sigrebit. He rendered himſelf ſo uſeful to Chriſtian by his ſanguinary advice at the maſſacre of Stockholm, and by being the inſtrument of his cruelty, that he was rewarded with the archbiſhopric of Lunden. Not long afterwards, however, the king threw on his favourite all the odium of the maſſacre, and ſacrificed him to the public vengeance: the

In 1523 Chriſtian was publicly depoſed by the ſtates of Denmark, and the crown transferred to his uncle Frederic duke of Holſtein. This depoſition was neither the conſequence of Frederic's intrigues, nor of party ſpirit; but occaſioned by the juſt and univerſal deteſtation which pervaded all ranks of people, and had more the appearance of a new election on the demiſe of the crown, than of a revolution which deprived a deſpot of his throne. Chriſtian himſelf was ſenſible of the general odium, and, though by no means deficient in perſonal courage, made not the leaſt effort to retain poſſeſſion of that throne which he had often diſhonoured. Quitting Copenhagen he repaired to Antwerp, under the protection of Charles V. whoſe ſiſter Iſabella he had married. After many delays and ſolicitations at the different courts of Europe, he at length collected, by the emperor's aſſiſtance, a fleet and army, with which he invaded the Daniſh dominions: his attempts, however, proving unſucceſsful, he fell, in 1542, into the hands of Frederic I. and was conſigned a priſoner to the caſtle of Sondeborg, a ſtrong fortreſs in the Iſle of Alſen.

The place of his confinement was a dungeon,

the unfortunate victim was firſt racked, and then burnt alive; exhibiting a melancholy example, what little confidence is to be repoſed in the favour of a tyrant.

with a ſmall window, admitting only a few rays of light, through which his proviſions were conveyed. Having entered this gloomy cell, with a favourite dwarf, the ſole companion of his miſery, the door was inſtantly walled up. Even the horrors of this ſituation were aggravated by the death of his only ſon John, who expired at Ratiſbon in the 15th year of his age, and on the ſame day in which his father was taken priſoner. The premature deceaſe of this accompliſhed prince, whom he tenderly loved, and on whom he reſted his ſole hopes of enlargement, reduced him to a ſtate of deſpondency. After much anxious ſolicitude by what means he could convey intelligence of his dreadful ſituation to his daughter the electreſs Palatine, and to the emperor Charles V. the king prevailed on the dwarf to counterfeit ſickneſs, and ſolicit his removal from priſon for the recovery of his health. If ſucceſsful, he was to ſeize the firſt opportunity of eſcaping from the Daniſh dominions to the court of the electreſs, that ſhe might engage the emperor to intercede with the king of Denmark for ſome alleviation of her father's ſufferings. The dwarf accordingly feigned ſickneſs, was transferred to the neighbouring town, eluded the vigilance of his guards, and made his eſcape; but was overtaken at Renſburgh, ſcarcely a day's journey from the Daniſh confines.

Chriſtian,

Chriſtian, fruſtrated in this attempt, and deprived of his faithful aſſociate, lingered for ſome time in total ſolitude, until an old ſoldier, worn out with the fatigues of war, offered to ſhare the king's impriſonment. This veteran being immured in the dungeon, amuſed the royal priſoner with various anecdotes on the different princes and generals under whom he had enliſted, and by deſcribing the expeditions and battles in which he had been preſent; and, as he had ſerved from his earlieſt youth, was a perſon of much obſervation, and by nature loquacious, he aſſiſted in relieving the *tædium* of Chriſtian's captivity. Nor did any event, ſcarcely the loſs of his ſon, more ſenſibly affect the depoſed ſovereign, than the death of this ſoother of his miſery, who expired in the dungeon.

After a confinement of eleven years in his original cell, Chriſtian was at length removed, through the interceſſion of Charles V. to a commodious apartment in the ſame caſtle, provided with ſuitable attendants, and indulged with the liberty of viſiting in the town, attending divine ſervice in the public church, and hunting in the neighbouring diſtrict. Yet even this change of ſituation, which had been ſo long the ſole object of his wiſhes, could not make him forget that he was ſtill a priſoner, the recollection of which af-

fected him occaſionally to ſuch a degree, that he would ſuddenly burſt into tears, throw himſelf on the ground, utter the moſt bitter lamentations, and continue for ſome time in a ſtate approaching to inſanity. However deſervedly odious Chriſtian II. may have appeared in the former parts of his life; yet his ſubſequent ſufferings raiſe compaſſion; and it is a pleaſing ſatisfaction to every humane mind, that he recovered from his deſpondency, and acquieſced in his fate with perfect reſignation.

In 1546, after a confinement of ſixteen years and ſeven months in the caſtle of Sonderborg, he was conveyed to the palace of Callenborg, in the Iſle of Zealand, a place to which he was particularly attached. Chriſtian III. repaired in perſon to Aſſens, received his fallen rival with great marks of attention, and promiſed him every comfort which could tend to alleviate his ſituation. Theſe unuſual honours, joined to his removal from a place where he had experienced ſo much miſery, and the proſpect of again inhabiting his favourite palace, excited tranſports of joy, and he compared himſelf to a perſon recalled from death *.

Being conducted to Callenborg, he had the ſatisfaction of finding theſe promiſes religiouſly

* "Quibus ille non ſecus animo exhilaratur, *ac ſi morte extractus, novam lucem intueretur.*" Cragii Annal. Chriſt. III. p. 324.

fulfilled.

fulfilled. He ſurvived this happy change ten years; and his mind was ſo ſoftened by adverſity, that, old as he was, his death was haſtened by affliction for the loſs of his benefactor Chriſtian III. He died on the 24th of January 1559, in the 78th year of his age, and in the 36th from the period of his depoſition *.

April 9th, we arrived at Aſſens, juſt mentioned as the place of meeting between the two ſovereigns; it ſtands on the Little Belt, a ſtrait of the Baltic, which ſeparates the Iſle of Funen from the continent. This iſland is 340 miles in circumference, fertile in paſture and grain, and exports annually to Norway, barley, oats, rye, and peaſe. The country is open, with a gently undulating ſurface; but the coaſts are generally flat and ſandy. The paſſage acroſs the Little Belt is only nine miles; but the wind being contrary, we were five hours in performing it. We landed on the duchy of Sleſwic, at Arroe-Sound, ſo called from the little iſland Arroe, contiguous to the continent.

On the 11th we paſſed through ſeveral ſmall, but neat towns, beautifully ſituated on the inlets of the Baltic, and particularly Flenſburg, which carried on a conſiderable trade during the Ame-

* Theſe particulars of Chriſtian the Second's life are chiefly taken from Holberg and Svaningii Vita Chriſtiani Secundi.

rican

rican war, and poſſeſſed 200 merchant veſſels, trading moſtly to the Weſt Indies. Peace has reſtored the commerce to its old channels; many of the veſſels have been ſold, the traffic to the Weſt Indies conſiderably leſſened, and the chief trade centers in the Iſle of Zealand, the coaſts of Norway, and Sweden.

Between Flenſburg and Sleſwic is that part of the duchy of Sleſwic called Angeln or Engel, doubtleſs the native country of our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, who invading and taking poſſeſſion of our iſland, formerly called Britain, converted its name into Engelland or England. The truth of this fact, ſufficiently authenticated by hiſtory, is ſtill further corroborated by the reſemblance which this fertile diſtrict bears to our native iſland.

The country from Flendſburg to Cappel is delightful, diverſified with ſcattered farm-houſes and frequent villages. The gravel roads wind through green lanes, with quickſet hedges, through incloſed fields, and ſmall woods; reminding me ſo much of my native country, that I almoſt fancied I was paſſing through Engliſh lanes and Engliſh incloſures.

We made this excurſion in an open cart, and, as the weather was favourable, enjoyed a conſtant view of this agreeable and cultivated diſtrict. According to the information of the peaſant

ſant who drove us, the country yields all ſorts of grain and flax, and abounds in paſture; the peaſants weave ſufficient linen and coarſe cloth for their own uſe, knit their worſted ſtockings, and make their boots and ſhoes; they procure hats and a better ſort of cloth from Flendſburg. Their food is chiefly rye-bread, cheeſe, eggs, milk, and occaſionally meat; they diſtil ſpirits from malt, and make cyder, which is their uſual drink.

Cappel, a ſmall but neat town on the Sley, contains about 550 inhabitants, who are induſtrious, and carry on ſome trade, exporting bacon, cheeſe, butter, eggs, and other commodities to Copenhagen, and ſupplying the interior parts of the province with coffee, ſugar, ſpices, and other foreign merchandiſe. The environs of Cappel are quite delightful, being grounds gently riſing, ſprinkled with much wood, and commanding fine views of the bay.

The duchy of Sleſwic, ſometimes called South Jutland, is ſeparated from Holſtein, or the king of Denmark's German dominions, by the Eyder. The capital is an irregular town of great length, and contains 5,630 inhabitants. The houſes are of brick; and like the other towns in the country reſemble in neatneſs and manner of building thoſe of Holland: the inhabitants dreſs alſo like the Dutch, and many of them

ſpeak

ſpeak their tongue, though the uſual languages are the German and Daniſh. Cloſe to Sleſwic is the old palace of Gottorp, formerly the ducal reſidence, at preſent inhabited by the ſtadtholder, or governor, prince Charles of Heſſe-Caſſel, who married Louiſa princeſs of Denmark. It is a large brick edifice, ſurrounded by a rampart and moat: from this caſtle, the ducal line founded by Adolphus ſon of Frederic I. king of Denmark, was denominated Holſtein Gottorp, which was loſt in the title of Emperor, when Peter the Third aſcended the throne of Ruſſia.

The church of Sleſwic contains the monument of Frederic the Firſt, ſon of Chriſtian the Firſt. The tomb is a ſarcophagus of dark marble, ſupported by ſix female figures ſtanding on pedeſtals, Charity, accompanied by two children, her uſual emblem; Fortitude, holding a broken column; Prudence, with the ſerpent; Juſtice, with her ſcales; Juriſprudence, with tablets; and Hope, with an anchor; their countenances are Greek, and uncommonly pleaſing, and the drapery truly elegant, after the antique. Towards the bottom of the ſarcophagus are four beautiful little angels or genii, with their reverſed torches, above is placed the figure of the king in armour. At each end are the figures of two women, of the ſame ſize and elegance as thoſe which ſupport the ſarcophagus;

one

one holds the royal coat of arms, the other a ſcrole containing Latin verſes in praiſe of the deceaſed. All the figures are of the fineſt alabaſter, and were probably executed in Italy.

Frederic received as his inheritance the duchy of Sleſwic, and the crown of Denmark on the depoſition of Chriſtian the Second. Seated on the throne by the univerſal ſuffrages of the nation, he was eſtabliſhed in it rather by the zeal of his ſubjects, and by the co-operating aſſiſtance of Guſtavus Vaſa, his protector and rival, than by his own proweſs. He ſeems indeed to have inherited the mild and pacific virtues of his father Chriſtian the Firſt; virtues which would never have raiſed him to a throne, had not the general odium conſpired to the depoſition of Chriſtian the Second. He died in 1533, aged 60 years.

That part of the duchy which we traverſed ſeemed well cultivated: it was in general flat and open, but occaſionally exhibited variegated landſcapes of heath, arable land, and paſture, incloſed with quickſet hedges, and ſtudded with woods of beech and oak. The farm-houſes had the appearance of great neatneſs. We paſſed alſo ranges of new cottages, lately erected for coloniſts at the expence of the crown; they are ſpacious, and reſemble thoſe of Weſtphalia, containing, under the ſame roof, a large barn,

with

with diviſions for the cattle on each ſide, and two rooms at the further end for the family. Each coloniſt is ſupplied with ploughs, carts, and other implements of agriculture, two horſes, and a penſion during three years.

About twenty miles from Sleſwic we quitted that duchy, and at Rendſburgh croſſed the Eyder into Holſtein, which river is conſidered as forming on this ſide the limits of Germany.

Rendſburgh is eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the Daniſh territories. The town, which contains 3,600 inhabitants, carries on but little trade, ſcarcely poſſeſſing three veſſels. It muſt ſoon, however, become a place of importance, as the canal of Kiel will introduce a conſiderable degree of commerce. The laſt ſluice is to be conſtructed at Rendſburgh. The Eyder is navigable for large veſſels within a ſhort diſtance of the town, while thoſe of inferior burden land their goods on the quays. The tide, which riſes near four feet, brings ſand into the channel; and floating machines are continually employed to deepen its bed.

The environs are chiefly a flat barren heath; but as we approached Kiel, the coaſts gradually became hilly and more fertile. We paſſed between the Wetter and Flemhuder Lakes, again croſſed the Eyder, there only a ſmall rivulet, and arrived in the evening at Kiel. The diſ-

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A PLAN of the CITY of COPENHAGEN.

Published March 26. 1784 according to Act of Parliam.t by T. Cadell in the Strand.

The.s Kitchin Sen.r Sculp.t

trict of Kiel is that portion of the duchy of Holſtein, which deſcended to the line of Holſtein-Gottorp, and belonged to Peter III. as part of his hereditary dominions. In 1773 the empreſs of Ruſſia ceded it to the king of Denmark, in exchange for the counties of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt, which ſhe gave to the prince biſhop of Lubec. This exchange was favourable to Denmark, as the king now poſſeſſes the whole duchy of Holſtein; and the intended junction of the Baltic and the North Sea will be formed entirely through the Daniſh territories.

Kiel poſſeſſes an univerſity for the German ſubjects of Denmark, founded in 1650 by Chriſtian Albert, duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, and conſiderably enlarged by the preſent king; it contains 24 profeſſors, and about 300 ſtudents. The town ſtands on a ſmall peninſula in a bay of the Baltic, and has a very commodious harbour for large ſhips. It is already one of the moſt commercial places of Holſtein; and the trade will be ſtill further augmented when the inland navigation acroſs the peninſula is finiſhed.

This inland navigation, for the junction of the two ſeas, is formed acroſs the duchy of Holſtein, by the canal of Kiel and the river Eyder, which paſſes by Rendſburgh, and falls into the German ocean at Tonningen.

The

The canal begins about three miles North of Kiel, at the mouth of the rivulet Lewenſawe, which heretofore ſeparated Holſtein from Sleſwic, and will form a new boundary between thoſe two duchies. The diſtance from its beginning to the laſt ſluice at Rendſburgh is 27 Engliſh miles; but as the Eyder is navigable about 6 miles and $\frac{3}{4}$ above Rendſburgh, and only requires to be deepened in ſome places, the cut neceſſary for the completion of the communication between the two ſeas is only 20 miles and $\frac{1}{2}$.

The canal was begun in July 1777; and in June 1785, when I laſt examined it, was almoſt finiſhed. The work was performed by contract; 1024 cubic feet * of earth were taken out for 8*s.*; and the whole expence was to amount to about £. 800,000. Between the Flemhuder lake and the rivulet Lavens is the higheſt point, on each ſide whereof the waters take different courſes to the Baltic and German Ocean: in this part the ground muſt be excavated to the depth of 59 feet. The perpendicular fall towards the Baltic is 25 feet 6 inches; that towards the ocean 23; and the veſſels will be raiſed or let down by means of ſix ſluices: Holtenau, Knorp, Suckdorf, Shinkel, Niederholten, and Rendſburgh.

* The foot uſed in this chapter is to the Engliſh as 21 to 22.

The

The breadth of the cut is 100 feet at top, and 54 at bottom; the ſluices are 27 feet in breadth, and 100 in length; the loweſt depth of water 10 feet. The canal will be furniſhed with water as far as Steinwarp from the Eyder, and the lakes Flemhuder and Weſter, from thence to Renſburgh by the Wetter lake, from which iſſues a rivulet that joins the Eyder. Merchantmen of about 120 tons burden will be able to navigate this canal.

The utility of this important undertaking will be evident from a mere inſpection of the map of Denmark. At preſent even the ſmalleſt veſſels, trading from any part of the Daniſh dominions in the Baltic to the Northern Sea, muſt make a circuit round the extremity of Jutland, and are liable to be detained by contrary winds. This navigation is ſo tedious, that goods ſhipped at Copenhagen for Hamburgh are not unuſually ſent by ſea only to Lubec, and from thence by land.

The object of thoſe who planned this canal was no leſs than to draw by Kiel into the Baltic the commerce of Bremen, Hanover, and Weſtphalia, which is now carried down the Veſer and by Gluckſtadt upon the Elbe to Hamburgh and Lubec, and to facilitate the tranſport of merchandize from Holland and the north ſea to the ports of the Baltic. But the principal impedi-

ment to the ſucceſs of this canal ſeems to ariſe from the difficult navigation of the Eyder between Rendſburgh and Tonningen, on account of the numerous ſhoals occaſioned by the ſhifting ſands, which not unfrequently render the entrance into the Eyder impracticable, and always prevent any veſſels from paſſing which draw more than nine feet of water. Few ſhips, therefore, which navigate the Baltic, will unload their goods at Kiel, in order to embark them in ſmaller veſſels for Tonningen, where the merchandize muſt be again reimbarked. Ships ſailing from the Baltic to the Engliſh or French ports will doubtleſs prefer the navigation round the Cattegate, with all its dangers and difficulties. Thoſe deſtined for Hamburgh, or the adjacent parts, will chooſe, perhaps, the ſhorter and more ſecure paſſage of the canal. But it is much to be doubted, whether the commerce between Hamburgh and the north will be ſufficient to anſwer the expences of the conſtruction. The trade of Kiel, at all events, will be greatly increaſed by this canal; but the principal depoſitory of the merchandize will be at Rendſburgh *.

After

* This canal was opened in 1785, and the following is a liſt of the veſſels which paſſed through it during nine ſucceſſive years:

1785—	453	veſſels, including	44 foreign.
86—	400	- -	67

1787—645

After having examined the canal and town of Kiel, we continued our route, and, in 18 miles, reached a ſmall village beautifully ſeated between two lakes, in the midſt of a romantic country, interſperſed with foreſts of beech and oak. The largeſt of theſe lakes is that of Ploen, the banks of which are adorned with the town of Ploen, the capital of the duchy, which eſcheated to the king of Denmark in 1761, on the deceaſe of the laſt duke Charles without iſſue male. The palace, formerly the ducal reſidence, riſing in the midſt of the town, on elevated ground, and overlooking the lake, is a pictureſque object.

The road from Ploen to Eutin runs along a fertile country, through fields of corn and paſture, encloſed with "hedge-row elms and coppice green," and beautifully interſperſed with groves of oak and beech.

Eutin is a town with a palace belonging to the prince biſhop, in which he uſually reſides, and from which he aſſumes his title. The preſent prince is brother to Adolphus Frederic, late

1787—	645	veſſels, including	125 foreign.
88—	626	- -	136
89—	1072	- -	280
90—	961	- -	293
91—	1250	- -	476
92—	1509	- -	722
93—	2290	- -	1441

king of Sweden: it is, like Oſnabrug, a ſecular biſhoprick. The palace is a large brick building, on the banks of a lake, and contains nothing worthy of obſervation, except a few indifferent family pictures; amongſt which I remarked one of the duke of Anhalt, father of the fortunate Catharine the Second, empreſs of Ruſſia, and another of Charles duke of Holſtein, father of the unfortunate Peter the Third.

The grounds are laid out in ſtraight walks, with cut hedges, ſtagnant canals, and *jets d'eau*; an intermediate plot of ground is called an Engliſh garden, and conſiſts chiefly of zig-zag walks, which, according to the opinion of moſt foreigners, are ridiculouſly ſuppoſed to form the peculiar excellence of our ſtyle.

Lubec, the head of the Hanſeatic league, was formerly the moſt commercial city, and powerful republic of the north; her fleet bade defiance to the northern powers, and rode miſtreſs of the Baltic. How are the mighty fallen! ſhe no longer retains a ſhadow of her former power, has loſt great part of her trade, and her commerce, conſiderably diminiſhed, will ſuffer ſtill more diminution, if the canal of Kiel ſhould anſwer the purpoſes for which it was planned: for by that means great part of the merchandize which now paſſes through this town will be conveyed along the canal, and down the Eyder to Tonningen,

and thence by ſea and up the Elbe to Hamburgh. To counteract theſe effects, profeſſor Bueſch has formed a plan to render the Steiknitz navigable for veſſels of burden as far as Lauenburgh. Should this project be carried into execution, the advantages ariſing to the duchy of Lauenburgh, as well as to the city of Lubec, are too evident to require an explanation.

The houſes of Lubec are built in an ancient ſtyle of architecture, the doors being ſo large as to admit carriages into the hall, which frequently ſerves for a coach-houſe. The walls of many houſes bear the date of the fifteenth century; and doubtleſs, at that period, the town was eſteemed extremely beautiful.

The quay of Lubec is on the river Trave, which falls into the ſea at the diſtance of fourteen miles, and admits veſſels from 150 to 200 tons burden, and ſometimes, but rarely, 300. I obſerved about 120 merchant-ſhips deſtined to Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark. The trade is chiefly a trade of commiſſion, drawing from Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark, their raw commodities, and ſupplying them with wines, ſilks, cloth, and ſteel ware.

Being unwilling to quit the territory of Lubec without viſiting Travemunde, we ſet off at five in the afternoon, and at ſeven reached Travemunde, diſtant from Lubec about nine miles.

We found a clean and comfortable inn, good accommodations, and a civil landlord, who ſpoke Engliſh.

Travemunde, or the mouth of the Trave, is the port where the veſſels trading to and from Lubec take their ſtation. We hired a boat, and rowed round the port to the road; the port is able to contain ſixty veſſels, and ſufficiently deep to admit thoſe of 200 tons burden, the ſame as aſcend the Trave to Lubec. Men of war ride at anchor in the road. Our landlord procured from the pilot a liſt of the merchant-ſhips which took their departure from Travemunde in the following years:

In 1778, 941 ſhips; in 1779, 916; in 1780, 803; in 1781, 935; in 1782, 858; in 1783, 951. Of theſe he conjectured, that 150 belonged to Lubec, 300 were Daniſh, 250 Swediſh, 100 Pruſſian, 20 Daniſh, and 10 Engliſh. Travemunde is defended (if it can be called defence) by a ſmall fortreſs mounting forty guns, and containing a garriſon of 50 men.

We paſſed through Ratzeburgh, a ſmall fortified town, prettily ſituated on an iſland in the midſt of a lake thirty miles in circumference; the banks abrupt, and pleaſantly feathered with wood. The town partly belongs to the duchy of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, and partly to that of Saxe Lauenburgh. The buildings are of brick;

almoſt

almoſt every houſe is ſhaded with a tree, which forms a ſingular and agreeable appearance.

From the lake of Ratzeburgh iſſues the river Wakenitz, which joins the Trave near Lubec, and thus facilitates the water-communication between Lubec and theſe parts. The duchy of Saxe Lauenburgh belongs to the king of England, as elector of Hanover.

The road winds at a ſmall diſtance from the lake of Ratzeburgh, commanding diverſified views of wood, water, and fields of corn and paſture.

Near Moellen is the navigation of the Steiknitz, which unites the Elbe and the Trave. This water-communication is formed by the two ſmall rivulets, the Steiknitz and the Devenau, the former falls into the Trave, and the latter into the Elbe at Lauenburgh; they were united by a canal, cut by order of the government of Lubec, in the fourteenth century, ſuppoſed to be the firſt canal which had double ſluice-gates. The average depth of water being only three feet and a half, no heavy-laden veſſels can paſs. The waterman belonging to ſome barges carrying corn and planks, told me, that they had employed eight days in coming from Lubec to Moellen, which is only thirty-ſix miles by land, and did not expect to reach Lauenburgh in leſs than eight days more. Seventeen locks muſt be paſſed

between Lubec and the Elbe at Lauenburgh; yet, notwithſtanding this inconvenience, about 440 veſſels annually navigate the canal. The environs of Moellen are agreeably diverſified with fine woods of oak, beech, and birch.

During my progreſs through Sweden and Denmark, I remarked, with attentive curioſity, many of thoſe regular circles of ſtones which are ſo frequently ſcattered over the face, not only of theſe countries, but of our own. According to the plan I have generally followed in the courſe of this work, I ſhall firſt deſcribe thoſe which fell under my immediate obſervation, and then throw together a few remarks on their probable origin and deſtination.

In the province of Weſt Gothland, between Kalange and Lidkioping, I obſerved on the top of an hill two rude maſſes of red granite, placed upright on each ſide of the high road. The talleſt meaſured 15 feet in height, five ſpans and a half in breadth; the other was about 12 feet high, ſix ſpans broad, and both were no more than four inches thick. In a plain near Runneby, in the province of Blekinge, I noted many ranges of ſtones ſet up endways, and forming various circles, all of which plainly referred to one general diſpoſition. I counted at leaſt ten of theſe circles, and among the moſt perfect, one of eight ſtones, whoſe diameter meaſured five

paces,

paces, and another of ten, whoſe diameter was ſeven; the ſtones were from two to four feet in height, and the higheſt did not exceed ten.

Again, cloſe to Skillinge, the neareſt poſt to Carlſcrona, are ſeveral ſimilar remains on a rocky eminence, conſiſting of many oval or circular ranges: the greater part were in the rough ſtate; ſome were hewn flat and broad, and others ſomewhat reſembled pillars pointed at top in the rudeſt manner. At the ſummit of the rock ſeveral concentric ranges incloſed a ſpace of about ten feet diameter, in the centre of which ſtood two flat ſtones, ſcarcely three feet in height, placed edgeways, and between them was the lower part of a withered trunk, the remains of a tree, which had once flouriſhed in that ſpot. It appeared to me like an oak; and a perſon attached to the hypotheſis, that ſuch circles are druidical relics, might, with a ſmall degree of enthuſiaſm, have conſidered this very tree as the central oak; could he ſuppoſe that the religion of the Druids was ever eſtabliſhed in theſe Northern kingdoms. The largeſt of theſe ſtones was about 12 feet in height. On the ſouthern ſide of the village were ſimilar monuments of antiquity, the higheſt of which meaſured 18 feet, and we continually obſerved remains of the ſame in our route through Sweden.

In the Daniſh iſles, as well as in Sleſwic and Holſtein,

Holſtein, theſe circles occurred no leſs frequently than in Sweden; but none of the ſtones were large; few which fell under my obſervation exceeding ſix or ſeven feet in height, and the greater part were not more than two or three. In ſome places I noticed two laid edgeways, and upon them an unformed maſs of ſtone in an horizontal poſition, which is exactly ſimilar to the Britiſh Cromlech. One of theſe monuments is thus deſcribed in colonel Floyd's Journal:

"About three or four Engliſh miles from Corſoer, at the extremity of a wood, ſtanding on a promontory, I found one of the moſt perfect of theſe antient monuments. I obſerved a large mound of earth, on the ſummit of which large conical granite ſtones, ſtanding at ſmall intervals from each other, encloſed an oval ſpace of a very conſiderable extent. In the center and higheſt point, a huge, ſhapeleſs maſs of granite was laid horizontally on four other ſtones, almoſt buried beneath the ſurface of the ground. Near it was another mound, on the top of which another large ſtone was placed in a ſimilar manner on four others. I remarked veſtiges of trenches; but as the place was covered with underwood, and night approached, I could not trace their direction."

To our inquiries in ſeveral parts of Sweden, concern-

concerning the origin of theſe antient relics, the peaſants generally anſwered, that they were erected by a race of giants formerly inhabiting theſe countries. We have many ſimilar monuments in our iſland; and particularly that of the Rol-rich ſtones near Burford in Oxfordſhire, the Snake's Head of Overton Temple, as deſcribed by Stukeley *; ſome of thoſe which are delineated in Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall, and that circular range in Cumberland, of which Mr. Pennant † has given an engraving in his Tour to Scotland, ſeem moſt to reſemble thoſe which I obſerved in Sweden and Denmark. I cannot, however, but add, that Olaus Wormius, and other authors, highly exaggerate when they deduce any reſemblance between the ſtupendous fabric of Stone Henge, and theſe trifling, though genuine, remains of high antiquity, and ſtill more erroneouſly conclude from that fanciful reſemblance, that Stone Henge ‡ was conſtructed by our Anglo Saxon anceſtors,

* Stukeley's Abury, p. 4. Tab. III. p. 40, & Tab. XXI.

† Tour into Scotland, and annexed plate.

‡ It is curious to trace the different ſyſtems which have been framed concerning the origin of Stone Henge; and to obſerve upon what vague and uncertain principles each author has founded his hypotheſis.

The celebrated architect, Inigo Jones, in a work entitled, "Stone Henge reſtored," endeavours to aſcertain, but without ſufficient

anceſtors, who migrated from theſe Northern parts.

Endleſs controverſies have ariſen among the learned concerning their origin and deſtination; and each author maintains that they were raiſed by that particular nation, or ſect, which beſt ſuits his favourite hypotheſis. Thus they are ſtyled by different authors, Celtic, Gothic, Daniſh *, Saxon,

ſufficient proof, that it was a Roman temple, conſecrated to Cœlum, and conſtructed between the times of Agricola and Conſtantine the Great.—Dr. Charleton, on the contrary, in his "Stone Henge reſtored to the Danes," entirely overturns the ſyſtem of Inigo Jones; and contends, with more ingenuity than argument, that it was built in the beginning of Alfred's reign by the Danes, who over-ran great part of England, as a place for the election of their kings.

John Webb, Eſq. in "A Vindication of Stone Henge reſtored," refutes, with much learning, the opinion of Dr. Charleton, but fails in re-eſtabliſhing the ſyſtem of Inigo Jones. Some ſuppoſe it to have been erected in memory of 460 Britons maſſacred by Hengiſt; a chimerical notion, ariſing merely from the ſimilarity of the words Henge and Hengiſt; others, that it was raiſed in honour of Aurelius Ambroſius, the laſt Britiſh king; and a few, that it was a ſepulchral monument of Bonduca, by the Old Britons.

Dr. Stukeley, in his elaborate treatiſe on Stone Henge, has completely overturned all theſe ſyſtems of former writers; but is not equally ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing his favourite poſition, that it was a Druidical temple.

In a word, all that can be collected, from a diligent examination of the ſeveral ſyſtems, is, that it is a monument of very high antiquity, far beyond the reach of hiſtory or tradition; and that there are not ſufficient data by which any certain opinion can be formed of its origin.

* Olaus Wormius, in the true ſpirit of national prejudice, ſuppoſes

on, Pictic; and by others have been ſolely attributed to the Druids; a favourite order of men, under whom we are too apt to ſhelter our ignorance. Although theſe rude monuments are undoubtedly of ſuch high antiquity as almoſt to baffle our inquiries; yet we may infer, from hiſtorical evidence, that they had not all the ſame original deſtination: ſome were raiſed as memorials of material events; others as ſepulchres; but the greater part were probably places, or * objects, of ſacred worſhip. In the earlier ages of the world, we find that ſtones were erected for all theſe purpoſes, and by different nations; but as it would be tedious to enumerate the ſeveral proofs of the aſſertion, I muſt refer the reader to Borlaſe's Diſſertations on ſimilar monuments exiſting in our own country,

poſes all theſe monuments to have been erected by the Danes, becauſe great numbers are found in Denmark; upon which aſſertion Stukeley obſerves, their being in Denmark does not prove them to have been founded by the Danes, as they exiſted in that country long before any mention is made in hiſtory of the Danes; but they muſt have been raiſed before that people occupied the Northern iſles, by the Cimbrians, or Goths of old; and if not by them, by whom is not known from ſtory.

* Many inſtances of the worſhip of ſtones occur among the antient Pagans; and it appears that ſome were held no leſs ſacred in theſe Northern regions. Among others, one was worſhipped at Gilia, in Iceland, before the introduction of Chriſtianity: "In Gilia lapis, quem majores eorum religioſe coluerant, utpote a genio ſuo tutelari inhabitari tradentes." Kriſtni Saga, p. 13.

as the moſt able writer on this ſubject. How can we poſſibly confine to any particular nation, or religion, cuſtoms uſed indiſcriminately by all in remote periods, or how can we aſſign their epoch, ſince moſt of them were either raiſed before the Chriſtian æra, or preceded the introduction of the Goſpel into thoſe parts, when no certain tradition or literary records were extant, to aſcertain their origin?

APPENDIX, No. 1.

List of the Danish Army.

INFANTRY.

Daniſh and Holſtein.—Regulars and Militia.

FOOT Guards, reg. - - -	486
Daniſh royal regiment, mixt - - -	1778
Norway, ditto, mixt - - -	1778
King's ditto, mixt - - -	1778
Queen's ditto, mixt - - -	1778
Prince Royal's ditto, mixt - - -	1778
Prince Frederic's ditto, mixt - -	1778
Jutland ditto, mixt - - -	1778
Oldenburgh ditto, mixt - - -	1778
Bornholm ditto, mixt - - -	1778
Sleſwick ditto, mixt - - -	1778
Holſtein ditto, mixt - - -	1778
Falſter ditto, mixt - - -	1778
Moen ditto, mixt - - - -	1778
Delmenhorſt's ditto, mixt - - -	1778
Total of Daniſh and Holſtein Infantry - -	25,378

Infantry of Norway.

Regiment of Sunderfield, reg. - -	1376
Ditto of Nordenfield, reg. - - -	1376
First reg. Agerhuus, national - -	1956
Second ditto, nat. - - - -	1956
First ditto Smaalchen, nat. - - -	1800
Second ditto, nat. - - - -	2082
First ditto Drontheim, nat. - - -	2082
Second ditto, nat. - - - -	1916
Third ditto, nat. - - - -	2089
First ditto Oplande, nat. - - -	2075
Second ditto, nat. - - - -	1916
First ditto of Bergenhuus, nat. - -	1916
Second ditto of Bergenhuus, nat. - -	1916
First ditto Verterbeck, nat. - - -	1916
Second ditto, nat. - - - -	1916
Corps of Light troops, nat. - -	960
Regiment of artillery, mixt - -	2771
Corps of engineers, reg. - - -	34
Total of Infantry of Norway - - -	32,053

CAVALRY.

Daniſh and Holſtein.

Horſe guards, regulars - - -	161
Royal Daniſh regiment, mixt - -	582
Norway ditto, mixt - - - -	582
Firſt regiment of Zealand, mixt - -	582
Second ditto, mixt - - - -	582
Of Jutland, mixt - - - -	582
Funen, mixt - - - -	582
Sleſwic, mixt - - - -	582
Holſtein, mixt - - - -	582
	4817

Cavalry of Norway.

Firſt regiment of dragoons, nat. - -	1168
Firſt ditto of Sundenfield, nat. - -	1168
Second ditto, national - - -	1167
Third ditto, nat. - - - -	1079
Regiment of Nordenfield, nat. - -	1079
Total of Cavalry - - - -	10,478
Total of Infantry - - - -	56,431
Total of the Daniſh troops - - -	66,909

No. 2.

LIST of the DANISH NAVY in 1779.

Ships of the Line.

Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.	
1. Chriſtian VII.	90	Copenhagen	1767.	
2. Superb	80	Ditto	1768.	
3. Sophia Frederica	74	Ditto	1775.	
4. Juſtitia	74	Ditto	1777.	
5. Vandal	70	Ditto	1742.	For Parade
6. Queen Louiſa	70	Ditto	1744.	
7. Copenhagen	70	Ditto	1744.	Condemned
8. Queen Juliana	70	Ditto	1752.	Ditto
9. Prince Royal	70	Ditto	1756.	
10. Denmark	70	Ditto	1757.	
11. Jutland	70	North Sea	1760.	
12. Prince Frederic	70	Copenhagen	1761.	
13. Oere-Sund	70	Ditto	1766.	
14. Northern Lion	70	Ditto	1765.	
15. Elephant	70	Ditto	1769.	
16. Oldenburgh	60	Ditto	1740.	Condemned
17. North Star	60	Ditto	1746.	For Parade
18. Zealand	60	Ditto	1750.	Ditto
19. Neptune	60	Ditto	1750.	Ditto
20. Storman	60	Ditto	1751.	Ditto
21. Iceland	60	Ditto	1751.	Ditto
22. Victory	60	Ditto	1754.	
23. Princeſs Sophia Magdalena	60	Ditto	1763.	
24. Princeſs Wilhelmina	60	Ditto	1764.	
25. Danebrog	60	Ditto	1772.	
26. Holſtein	60	Ditto	1772.	
27. Wagria	60	Ditto	1773.	
28. Infoeds Retten	60	Ditto	1776.	
29. Ditmarſſen	50	Ditto	1742.	Condemned
30. Delmenhurſt	50	Ditto	1743.	Ditto

	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.	
31.	Ebenezer	50	North Sea	1758.	
32.	Nettleblad	50	Copenhagen	1746.	Condemned
33.	Funen	50	Ditto	1746.	Parade
34.	Greenland	50	North Sea	1756.	
35.	Saint Croix	50	Ditto	1758.	
36.	Mars	50	Copenhagen	1760.	
37.	Slefwick	50	Ditto	1766.	
38.	Difco	44	Ditto	1778.	

FRIGATES.

	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.	
1.	Pearl	34	Copenhagen	1772.	
2.	Kiel	36	Ditto	1775.	
3.	Bornholm	36	Ditto	1774.	
4.	Moen	36	Ditto	1777.	
5.	Croneborg	34	Ditto	1776.	
6.	Chriftiana	34	Ditto		
7.	Dockin	24	Ditto	1750.	Parade
8.	Moen	28		1752.	
9.	Blue Eagle	30		1753.	Parade
10.	Savage	18		1754.	Parade
11.	Chriftianborg	34	North Sea	1758.	
12.	Sea Horfe	18	Copenhagen	1758.	
13.	Langeland	18	Ditto	1758.	
14.	Falfter	30	Ditto	1760.	
15.	Syren		Ditto		
16.	Tranquebar	34	Ditto	1761.	
17.	Alfen		Ditto		
18.	Chriftiana	30	Ditto	1766.	
19.	Feroe	34	Ditto	1766.	
20.	Sanroe	22	Ditto	1770.	

	Swivels.		
Eagle Royal Yacht	26	Ditto	1756

Bomb Ketches.—Bravery; Serious; Comet; Courage; Dragon.

No. 3.

Dates.	TOUR in 1778.	Distances. Miles.
JULY	ENtered *GALICIA*, or AUSTRIAN POLAND, *from* VIENNA *at*	
	Biala	
	to Kent — —	5
	Zator — —	16
24.	*Brzenitza* — —	10
	Skavina — —	10
	Entered POLAND *at*	
	Casimir — —	10
25.	*CRACOW*	
	to Wielitska — —	8
26.	*CRACOW* —	8
	Iwanowice — —	16
	Miechow — —	12
	Zarnowca — —	14
27.	*Sienska* — —	16
	Malagoszcza — —	21
28.	*Radoszye* — —	26
	Konskich — —	16
29.	*Opoczna* — —	16
	Drzewicy — —	10
	Nowego Miasta —	16
	Mogelnice — —	10
	Starey-wie — —	10
30.	*Tarczyna* — —	16
	Janezewie — —	13
31.	WARSAW	13
AUG. 2.	*to Vola* — —	3
	WARSAW — —	3
9.	*Okuniew* — —	16
	Staniſlawow — —	16

Makow

Dates.	(Poland continued.)	Distances. Miles.
Aug.	*Makow* — —	16
	Wengrow — —	16
10.	*Sokolau* — —	10
	Gran — —	18
	Pobriki — —	13
	Brianſk — —	16
	Bielſk — —	16
	Woytſzi — —	10
11.	*Bialliſtock* — —	16
	Straza — —	21
	Sokolka — —	10
	Kuzniza — —	16
13.	Grodno — —	16
	Skidel — —	26
	Szuczin — —	26
15.	*Bilitza* — —	26
	Novogrodec — —	26
	Koreliza — —	16
16.	*Mir* — —	16
	Kunovy — —	9
	Oceda — —	18
	Koidanow — —	10
17.	Minſk — —	26
	Jucknow — —	21
18.	*Smolawitzo* — —	9
	Zodin — —	24
	Boriſow — —	10
	Jancyn — —	18
19.	*Naitza* — —	14
	Bobri — —	20
	entered RUSSIA	
	Tolitzin — —	26
20.	*Kochanof* — —	14
	Oſza — —	27
	Dubroffna — —	14
	Haſkini — —	14
21.	*Lady* — —	16

Dates.	(Ruſſia continued.)	Diſtances. Miles.
Aug.	*Kraſnoe* — —	14
	Kraſnitſkoi — —	16
22.	Smolenſko — —	16
	Brediga — —	20
25.	*Slovoda* — —	14
	Waſialki — —	14
	Dorogobuſh — —	24
26.	*Zarateſh* — —	28
	Viaſma — —	32
27.	*Tabluka* — —	22
	Gſchatſko Priſten —	22
	Gretkeva — —	25
28.	*Moſhaiſk* — —	18
	Selo-Naro — —	25
29.	*Malo-a-Viaſma* —	22
30.	Moscow — —	24
Sept. 7.	*Klaiſma* — —	17
	Bretofſhina — —	7
	to *Troitſkoi Sergief Kloſter*	20
8.	*Bretofshina* — —	20
9.	Moscow — —	24
	Tſchornoi — —	20
15.	*Parſki* — —	15
	Klin — —	21
	Savidof — —	17
16.	*Gorodna* — —	17
17.	Tver — —	19
	Mednoi — —	20
19.	*Torſhok* — —	22
	Vidropuſk — —	25
20.	*Viſhnei-Voloſhok* —	22
21.	*Kholilof* — —	25
	Yedrovo — —	24
22.	*Zimagor* — —	14
	Yaſheltitz — —	15
23.	*Kreſtzi* — —	25
	Zaikof — —	21

Bronitza

Dates.	(Ruſſia continued.)	Diſtances. Miles.
SEPT. 24.	*Bronitza* — —	19
25.	Novogorod — —	25
	Podhereſt — —	14
	Spaſkoe Poliſe —	16
	Tſchudowa — —	16
27.	*Luban* — —	21
	Toſna — —	17
	Itchora — —	15
28.	ST. PETERSBURGH —	20
	to Tzarſkoe-Zelo —	15
	ST. PETERSBURGH —	15
OCT.	*to Peterhoff* — —	20
	Oranienbaum —	7
	by water to	
8.	*Cronſtadt* — —	5
	Oranienbaum —	5
	by land to	
	Peterhoff — —	7
9.	ST. PETERSBURGH —	20
	to Toſna — —	20
	Schluſſelburgh —	20
	Toſna — —	20
1779.	ST. PETERSBURGH —	20
FEB. 3.	*Beloi Oſtrof* — —	28
	Pampola — —	30
4.	Wiburgh — —	35
	Tervajorke — —	14
5.	*Urpala* — —	26
6.	*Frederickſham* —	33
	entered	
	SWEDISH FINLAND	
	at Lilla Abborfors —	34
7.	*Louiſa* — —	12
9.	*Borgo* — —	30
10.	*Helſingfors* — —	38
	Quick — —	24
	Mielbolſtad — —	32

Dates.	(Swedish Finland continued.)	Distances. Miles.
FEB. 11.	*Svanskby* — —	27
	Handela — —	32
12.	Abo — —	30
	Coast of Finland on the Gulf of Bothnia —	40
	over the Ice to the Isle of	
13.	*Varisala* — —	50
	Brando — —	18
14.	*Kumblinge* — —	18
	Varyat on the I. of Aland — —	35
	by land to	
	Scarpats — —	8
	Castelholm — —	7
	Haroldsby — —	2
15.	*Enkerby* — —	8
	Trebenka — —	9
16.	*by water to the coast of* SWEDEN	49
	by land to	
	Grisleham — —	3
17.	*Staby* — —	20
	Rilanda — —	15
18.	*Hall* — —	8
	Enstad — —	15
19.	STOCKHOLM — —	10
MARCH	*Rotebro* — —	14
	Marsta — —	10
	Alsike — —	12
4.	Upsala — —	9
	to Morasteen — —	7
5.	Upsala — —	7
	Safwa — —	12
	Listena — —	10
	Enkioping — —	7
	Nyquarn — —	7
	Westeros — —	15

Kalback

Dates.	(Sweden continued.)	Distances. Miles.
MAR. 6.	*Kalback* — —	12
	Kioping — —	10
	Kungsær — —	8
	Arboga — —	10
	Fellingsbro — —	9
	Glanſhammar —	12
7.	Orebro — —	9
	Blackſta — —	14
	Wiby — —	14
	Bodarne — —	12
8.	*Hofva* — —	15
	Haſted — —	15
	Marieſtadt — —	6
	Enebacken — —	16
	Kallangen — —	9
	Lidkioping — —	9
9.	*Malby* — —	6
	Tang — —	10
	Galſta — —	8
	Borſted — —	10
10.	*Trolhætta* — —	7
11.	*Fors* — —	15
	Tange — —	8
	Nodinge — —	16
12.	Gotheborg — —	16
	Landveller — —	10
	Biorkatorp — —	15
14.	*Orby* — —	16
	Swenliunga — —	16
	Tranemo — —	12
15.	*Hunnaryd* — —	20
	Giſtavy — —	10
16.	*Vernamo* — —	21
	Voxtorp — —	7
	Rydaholm — —	12
	Moneda — —	16
17.	Wexio — —	15

Ingelſtad

Dates.	(Sweden continued.)	Distances. Miles.
MARCH	*Ingelſtad*	12
	Uraſa	10
	Quarnamala	9
	Duramala	7
	Bagery	7
	Roneby	12
	Skilinge	10
18.	Carlſcrona	8
	Skillinge	8
	Roneby	10
	Holy	10
	Norje Aſſerum	15
	Norje Geddery	12
20.	*Felkinge*	8
	Chriſtianſtadt	7
	Wram	12
21.	*Helſingborg*	72
	by water to	
	Elſineor	3
	entered ZEALAND	
	in DENMARK	
	by land to	
	Sophienbierg	12
	COPENHAGEN	18
APRIL	*Gloſtrup*	8
	Roſkild	12
	Oſted	8
5.	*Ringsted*	12
	Soroe	10
	Slagelſe	10
6.	Corſoer	12
	by water to	
	Nyborg	18
	entered FUNEN	
	by land to	
	Ullerſlov	10
8.	Odenſee	8

Krangerup

Dates.	(Denmark continued.)	Distances. Miles.
APRIL	*Krangerup* — —	12
	Aſſens — —	8
	by water to	
9.	*Arroe-Sund* — —	9
	entered SLESWIC	
	by land to	
	Haderſlaven — —	8
	Hoptrup — —	6
	Aabenraa — —	12
10.	*Flendſburgh* — —	18
	Ulſbye — —	12
	Sleſwic — —	8
	Sorgkrog — —	16
	Rendſburgh — —	4
	entered HOLSTEIN	
	in GERMANY	
11.	Kiel — —	18
	Preetze — —	8
12.	Ploen — —	9
	Arenſbocke — —	9
13.	Lubeck — —	12

Dates.	TOUR in 1784.	Distances. Miles.
JUNE	*From HAMBURGH*	
	to Rheinbeck - - -	12
9.	*Hamfelde* - - -	16
	Moellen - - -	10
	Ratzeburgh - -	8
10.	Lubec - - -	15
11.	*Travemunde* - -	9
	Haffkrog - -	5
	Eutin - - -	10
	Ploen - - -	8
	Preetze - - -	9
12.	Kiel - - -	8
	to the canal by water to Koningsford - -	16
	by land to	
15.	Rendſburgh - -	10
	entered SLESWIC in DENMARK	
16.	Sleſwic - - -	16
18.	*Cappel* - - -	18
	Bronſholm - - -	7
19.	*Flendſborg* - - -	16
20.	Sunderborg - -	20
21.	*Aabenraad* - -	18
	Hoptrup - - -	12
	Haderſleven - -	6
	Aller - - -	9
	entered JUTLAND at	
22.	*Colding* - - -	9
	Viuf - - -	9
	Veile - - -	10
	Stouby - - -	8
23.	*Horſens* - - -	10
	Skanderborg - -	14
	Aarhuus - - -	12

by

Dates.	(Denmark continued.)	Distances. Miles.
JUNE 25.	*by water to*	
26.	*Callundborg* - -	60
	entered ZEALAND by land to	
	Breigninge - -	10
	Tutze - - -	12
	Saakye - - -	14
27.	Roſkild - - -	10
	Gloſtrup - -	12
28.	COPENHAGEN - -	8
JULY	*Hirſtolm* - - -	15
	Frederiſborg - -	9
12.	*to Fredenſborg* - -	4
	Frederiſborg - -	4
	Frederiſwerk - -	13
	Ramloſe - - -	7
	Eſrom - - -	12
13.	*Elſinoor* - - -	9
	Sophienbierg - -	12
	Droningaard - -	8
14.	COPENHAGEN - -	10
	by water to	
20.	*Landſcrona* - -	16
	entered SWEDEN *by land to*	
	Kieſlinge - -	12
	Lund - - -	7
	Hurſwa - - -	12
21.	*Horby* - - -	7
	Wram - - -	14
	Chriſtianſtadt - -	12
	Felkinge - - -	7
	Norje Geddery - -	8
22.	*Norje Aſſerum* - -	12
	Holy - - -	15
	Roneby - - -	10
	Skillinge - -	10
		Carlſcrona

Dates.	(Sweden continued.)	Distances. Miles.
JULY 23.	Carlſcrona - -	8
	Jamgio - - -	15
	Bromſebro - -	12
24.	*Paboda* - - -	7
	Waſma - - -	14
	Calmar - - -	9
	Borſery - - -	16
	Vilkiot - - -	18
25.	*Maerhuet* - -	12
	Nybelled - - -	16
	Stockdorf - - -	12
	Ventalda - - -	12
	Ryd - - -	18
26.	*Elgerio* - - -	12
	Ingaryd - - -	12
	Jonkioping - -	7
	Skerſta - - -	10
	Granna - - -	8
	Holkaberg - -	9
27.	*Oſio* - - -	9
	Nyby - - -	10
	Wadſtena - - -	8
	Motala - - -	9
28.	to *Medewi* - - -	12
	Motalla - - -	12
	Huſby-fiol - -	12
29.	*Sogeſta* - - -	10
	Lindkioping - -	7
	Kumla - - -	12
	Kimſta - - -	7
	Nordkioping - -	8
	Aby - - -	6
	Krokek - - -	8
	Lunda - - -	15
	Nykoping - -	10
	Swarta - - -	6
	Laſtringe - -	10

Aby

Dates.	(Sweden continued.)	Distances. Miles.
JULY	*Aby* - - -	9
	Holo - - -	6
	Soder Telge - -	14
	Filtja - - -	12
AUG.	STOCKHOLM - -	10
	to *Drotningholm* - -	10
8.	STOCKHOLM - -	10
	to *Ulrichsdal* - -	5
17.	STOCKHOLM - -	5
	Filtja - - -	10
	Soder Telge - -	12
	Kumbla - - -	8
21.	*Gripsholm* - -	10
	Strœgnetz - -	14
	Kiula - - -	12
	Eskilstuna - -	7
	Albro - - -	6
22.	*Berga* - - -	12
	Kungsœr - - -	12
	Arboga - - -	10
	Fellingsbro - -	9
	Glanshammar - -	12
	Orebro - - -	9
23.	*Sanna* - - -	16
	Otorp - - -	18
	Vall - - -	10
	Biorstorp - - -	12
	Torfe - - -	12
24.	*Marieſtadt* - -	15
	Enebacken - -	16
	Kallangen - -	9
	Lidkioping - -	9
	Malby - - -	6
	Tange - - -	10
	Galsta - - -	8
25.	*Wennersborg* - -	8
26.	*Trolhætta* - -	10

by

Dates.	(Sweden continued.)	Distances. Miles.
AUG.	*by water to*	
	Aker - - -	4
	Edit - - -	7
	by land to	
	He - - -	9
	Kongshall - -	5
	Bohus - - -	1
28.	Gotheborg - -	9
	Kongshall - -	9
	Kiulthal - - -	10
SEPT.	*by water to*	
1.	*Marſtrand* - -	7
	Kiulthall - -	7
	by land to	
	Smedryd - - -	15
	Aſen - - -	9
2.	Uddevalla - -	12
	Quiſtrum - -	15
	Swarteberg - -	9
	Hede - - -	16
3.	*Vick* - - -	12
	Hodall - - -	12
	entered NORWAY *at*	
	Swineſund - -	8
4.	*to* Frederickſhall -	5
	Boe - - -	9
5.	Frederickſtadt - -	12
	Kiolberg - - -	4
	Moſs - - -	16
	Sohner - - -	9
6.	*Skydsjord* - -	15
7.	CHRISTIANIA -	16
	Hillebeck - - -	16
	Bragnætz - -	8
	Hogſund - - -	12
10.	*to* Kongſberg - -	14
	Hogſund - - -	14

Foſſum

Dates.	(Norway continued).	Distances. Miles.
SEPT. 11.	*Foſſum* - - -	12
	Skuterud - -	6
12.	*Oulberg or Hoola* - - -	12
	Skerendal - -	12
	by water to	
	Hole - - -	3
	by land to	
	Setrang - - -	10
13.	*Van* - - -	8
	Granewolden - -	9
	Dahlin - - -	6
14.	*Titerud* - - -	15
	Quickſtad - -	12
	Lake Mioſs - -	9
	by water to	
	Hammer - - -	12
	Giellum - - -	5
	by land to	
15.	*Siegſtadt* - - -	10
	Upſal - - -	15
	Lundby - - -	10
	Euſtad - - -	7
16.	*Voll* - - -	12
	Brandvold - -	12
17.	Kongſwinger - -	12
	Oklandbeig - -	8
	Mangnor - -	12
	re-entered SWEDEN	
	Eda - - -	14
	Strand - - -	6
18.	*Hogwalta* - - -	12
	Strand - - -	10
	Lervotorp - -	8
	Ilberg - - -	14
	Carlſtadt - - -	12
19.	*Præſtergarden* -	8

Dates.	(Sweden continued).	Distances. Miles.
SEPT.	*Mulcom* - - -	12
	Brattfors - - -	14
	Philipſtadt - -	8
	Saxaza - - -	12
20.	*Gryhitte* - - -	12
	Grekſaker - -	18
	Bendeby - - -	16
	Blixterbo - - -	12
21.	*Fellingſbro* - -	8
	Arboga - - -	8
	Kioping - - -	12
	Stroemſholm - -	12
22.	*to* Weſteros - - -	12
	Kalback - - -	12
	Skantze - - -	5
	Sura - - -	7
	Rhamnætz - -	5
23.	*Virſbo* - - -	8
	by water to	
24.	*Vaſtanfors* - -	15
	by land to	
	Sodra Barken - -	14
	Norbarke - - -	10
	Bomambro - - -	10
26.	*Ruſtgoden* - - -	7
	Vaglarby - - -	8
	Torſang - - -	9
[27.	Fahlun - - -	14
	Wyka - - -	15
	Upbo - - -	10
	Rerhuttan - -	15
	Torſaker - - -	14
29.	*Oſwanſio* - - -	9
	Hogbo - - -	8
	Geſle - - -	15
	Eſcarleby - - -	16
30.	*Skerplinge* - -	12

Loefsta

Dates.	(Sweden continued.)	Distances. Miles.
Oct.	*Loefsta* - - -	5
	Hackanbo - -	6
1.	*Osterby* - - -	12
	Danemora - -	2
	Kroko - - -	8
	by water to	
	Oreby-huus - -	2
2.	*Kroko* - - -	2
	by land to	
	Laby - - -	12
	Hogsta - - -	8
3.	Upsala - - -	10
	Alsike - - -	9
	Marsta - - -	12
	Rotebro - - -	10
4.	STOCKHOLM - -	14
	Enstad - - -	10
14.	*Hall* - - -	15
	Rilanda - - -	8
	Staby - - -	15
15.	*Grisleham* - -	20
	by water to	
	Eckero I. - -	36
	Fredenby - - -	8
	on the Isle of Aland	
	by land to	
	Enkerby - - -	9
	Haroldsby - -	8
16.	*Bomarsund* - -	12
	by water to	
17.	*Long I.* - - -	4
	entered FINLAND at	
18.	*Wirmo* - - -	75
	by land to	
19.	Abo - - -	14
	Handela - - -	30
20.	*Suanskby* - - -	32

Dates.	(Finland continued.)	Distances. Miles.
Oct.	*Miolbolſtad* - -	27
	Quick - - -	32
21.	*Helſingfors* - -	24
	by water to	
	Sveaborg - - -	3½
22.	*Helſingfors* - -	3½
	by land to	
	Borgo - - -	38
23.	*Louiſa* - - -	30
	entered RUSSIA *at*	
	Lilla Abborfors - -	12
24.	*Frederickſham* - -	34
	Urpala - - -	33
25.	*Tervajorke* - -	26
	Wiburgh - -	14
	Pampola - - -	35
26.	*Beloi Oſtrow* - -	30
27.	ST. PETERSBURGH -	28
Nov.	*to Peterhoff* - - -	20
1.	*Oranienbaum* - -	7
	by water to	
	Cronſtadt - - -	5
2.	*Oranienbaum* - -	5
	by land to	
	Peterhoff - - -	7
3.	ST. PETERSBURGH -	20
	to Tzarſkoe-Zelo - -	15
8.	ST. PETERSBURGH -	15
1785.	*to Strelna* - - -	14
Apr. 3.	ST. PETERSBURGH -	14
May	*Koſkowo* - - -	40
8.	*Jamburg* - -	38
9.	*Narva* - - -	15
	Jewe - - -	24
	Purro - - -	10
10.	*Kurol* - - -	16
	Igafer - - -	40
11.	*Dorpt* - - -	26

Ringen

Dates.	(Ruſſia continued.)	Diſtances. Miles.
MAY	*Ringen* - - -	28
	Walk - - -	34
	Wolmar - - -	36
	Wenden - - -	20
	Riga - - -	56
12.	*by water to*	
	Dunamunde - -	8
18.	*Riga* - - -	8
	by land to the Frontiers of	
	COURLAND -	16
19.	Mittau - - -	16
	Beccof - - -	20
20.	*Frauenburg* - -	15
	Schrunden - -	12
21.	*Tadeiken* - - -	14
22.	*Rutzau* - - -	18
	entered POLAND	
	Polangen - - -	15
	entered PRUSSIA	
23.	*Memmel* - - -	16
24.	*Roſſitten* - - -	44
	Krantz - - -	25
25.	KONIGSBERG - -	21
	Mulhauſen - -	20
	Bartenſtein - -	22
27.	*Schipenbeil* - -	9
	Raſtenburg - -	21
28.	*Senſburg* - - -	16
	Ortelſburg - -	28
	Wellenburg - -	14
	re-entered POLAND	
29.	*Chorzel* - - -	12
	Preſnuz - - -	16
30.	*Pultuſk* - - -	20
	Sirock - - -	15
	WARSAW - -	24

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INDEX.

N. B. The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.

A.

ABO, the capital of Swediſh Finland, its ſituation and deſcription, iv. 17. Its univerſity, 18. Its botanic garden, cathedral, and caſtle, *ibid.*

Academy, royal, of ſciences at Copenhagen, the firſt formation and eſtabliſhment of, v. 145.

Academy at Peterſburgh for the eſtabliſhment of provincial ſchools, iii. 129. Imperial academy of ſciences, hiſtory of, 159. Inſtructions given to the members deputed to examine the Ruſſian dominions, 161. Publication of their tranſactions, 163. Number of profeſſors, with their ſalaries, 164. Its library, *ibid.* Its collection of Chineſe literature, 166. The muſeum of natural hiſtory, 167. Deſcription of the foſſil bones diſcovered in Siberia, 170. Minerals, 174. Its anatomical cabinet, 176. Chamber of rarities, 177. Sepulchral ornaments, *ibid.* Dreſſes, 181. Cabinet of coins, 182. Curioſities relating to Peter the Great, 187. The globe of Gottorp, 189.

Academy of arts eſtabliſhed, iii. 191.

Academy, royal Swediſh, formation and regulations of, iv. 53. Its tranſactions, 54.

Academy of painting and ſculpture, in Sweden, iv. 71.

Accipenſer ruthenus. See *Sterlet*.

Adrian, the laſt patriarch of Ruſſia, i. 347.

Agate, black, of Lithuania, deſcribed, i. 230.

Aggerhuus, the caſtle of, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 26.

Agriculture, eſtabliſhment for its improvement, in Ruſſia, iii. 196.

Aland, an iſland in the Gulf of Bothnia, deſcribed, iv. 24.

Albert of Brandenburgh receives Eaſtern Pruſſia as a Poliſh fief, i. 15, *note*. His ſucceſſors, *ibid.*

Alexander, king of Poland, eſtabliſhes the limitations of ſovereign authority, i. 8.

Alexander Newſki, the Ruſſian ſaint, his hiſtory, i. 299. His anniverſary, how celebrated at Moſcow, 300. Order of, inſtituted by the empreſs Catharine I. ii. 136, *note*.

Alexèy Michaelowitch, father of Peter the Great, character of his reign, i. 337. His correſpondence with Charles I. of England, 365. His ſtatutes, iii. 124, *note*. Was the firſt Ruſſian prince who coined roubles, 186. Baniſhes all Engliſh merchants, 302. His endeavours to cultivate a trade over the Caſpian ſea, 321.

Alexèy Petrowitch, ſon of Peter the Great of Ruſſia, reflections on his fate, ii. 160. His birth, 201. His education, 303. Account of his perſon and manners, 305. Eſcapes to Vienna, returns, and is condemned to death, 307. Remarks on his trial, *ibid.* His ſuſpicious death, 308.

Alſtroem, Mr. the Swediſh engineer, projects the canal of Stroemſholm, v. 59.

Amak, iſle of, and its inhabitants, deſcribed, v. 102.

Amber, found in the foreſts of Lithuania, i. 229. Different opinions as to the origin of, *ibid. note*.

Amœnitates Academicæ of the univerſity of Upſala, in Sweden, character of, iv. 171.

Andrew, St. the moſt honourable order of knighthood in Ruſſia, ii. 138, *note*.

Animal heat, experiments to aſcertain the difference of, in a natural, and in a torpid ſtate, ii. 196.

Anker, Mr. Bernard, merchant, at Chriſtiania, in Norway, his iron-works at Moſs, v. 24. His character, and ſtyle of living, 29.

Ankerſtroem aſſaſſinates Guſtavus Adolphus the Second, iv. 68.

Anne, daughter of Sigiſmund I. of Poland, occaſions the elevation of her huſband, Stephen Bathori, to the throne, i. 139.

Anne, empreſs of Ruſſia, ſhort account of her reign, ii. 165. Her character deſcribed by Mrs. Vigor, 166, *note*. The credit of her reign tarniſhed by the arbitrary adminiſtration of her favourite Biren, 166.

Anne of Holſtein, daughter of Peter the Great of Ruſſia, her character, ii. 162. Her marriage, and diſappointed expectations, 163. Ingratitude of Prince Menzikof towards her, 165. Her death, *ibid.*—See *Peter III.*

Anne of Mecklenburgh, mother of prince Ivan, her marriage with prince Anthony Ulric, iii. 75. Is confined with her ſon Ivan, on his depoſition, iii. 76. Her death and character, *ibid.* Account of her impriſonment, 78. Fate of her other children, 79.

Anne, St. of Holſtein, order of, in Ruſſia, by whom inſtituted, ii. 137, *note*.

Anthony

Anthony Ulric, prince of Brunſwick, his quarrel with Biren, ii. 260. Is confined with his ſon Ivan, on his depoſition, iii. 76. His death, 77. Account of his impriſonment, 78.

Apraxin, count, his unſucceſsful courtſhip of the princeſs Anne of Holſtein, ii. 162.

Arboga, ſome account of the canal of, in Sweden, iv. 255. See *Trolhætta*.

Archangel, the commercial inhabitants of, diſtinguiſhed above the other Ruſſians, by their intelligence, iii. 150. The diſcovery of this town the occaſion of the commercial intercourſe between Ruſſia and Britain, 297. Its privileges transferred to Peterſburgh, 305. Preſent trade of, *ibid. note.*

Archeveque, a French ſtatuary, his plan for the ſtatue of Guſtavus Adolphus, iv. 71.

Archives of Ruſſia, an account of, i. 361.

Arians perſecuted and baniſhed from Poland, i. 26.

Ariſtotle of Bologna introduces the art of caſting cannon, and the knowledge of gunpowder, into Ruſſia, i. 330. His coinage of money, *ibid.*

Army of Poland, how formed, i. 97. State of, *ibid.*

Army of Ruſſia, an account of, iii. 292. The corps of Coſſacs, 293. Computed amount of, 295. Effective ſtate of, 395.

Army of Sweden, how formed, iv. 141. State of, 145.

Army of Denmark, how compoſed, v. 137. Infantry, *ibid.* Cavalry, *ibid.* Forces of Norway, 138. Academy of land cadets, 139.

Artelſchicks men employed in the counting and warehouſes of the Engliſh merchants in Ruſſia, iii. 315. Regulations of their ſociety, 316.

Aſſemblies, at Peterſburgh, regulations for, iſſued by Peter the Great, ii. 155.

Aſſeſſoria Regni, under the Poliſh government, explained, i. 11, *note.*

Aſtracan, the ancient mart for Ruſſian and Perſian merchants, iii. 322. Account of, *ibid.* Exports and imports of, 332.

Aſtracan ſheep, a deſcription of, i. 306.

Aurora Borealis, profeſſor Bergman's computation of the uſual height of in the atmoſphere, iv. 230.

Auſtrian Poland, i. 122.

Azof, ſiege of, by Peter the Great of Ruſſia, where he firſt exerted his maritime ſtrength, ii. 177.

Azof, the trade of, removed, by the choking up of the harbour, iii. 344.

B.

Bachmeiſter, Mr. his account of the library of the imperial academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, iii. 164.
Baku, a Perſian haven on the Caſpian ſea, deſcribed, iii. 328.
Balaklava, a port of the Black Sea, iii. 340.
Balkan, a Tartar haven on the Caſpian ſea, deſcribed, iii. 332.
Balke, madame, ſiſter of Mons, baniſhed on account of her brother's connection with Catharine I. ii. 287. Recalled by Catharine, *ibid.*
Baltic, communication between this ſea and the Caſpian ſea, iii. 309. Trade of, iii. 305.
Báner, general under Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden; biographical anecdotes and character of, iv. 50.
Bank of aſſignation in Ruſſia, account of, iii. 281. Of Stockholm, iv. 130. Regulations of, 135.
Bar in Podolia ſeized by the Poliſh confederates, i. 36.
Barrows, the antiquity and univerſality of the practice of raiſing them over the graves of the dead, i. 130.
Baſſewitz informs Catharine I. of the intrigues to prevent her from ſucceeding to the crown on the death of Peter, ii. 290. His conduct on the occaſion, *ibid.*
Bathing houſes, Ruſſian, a deſcription of, ii. 227.
Bauer, general, takes Catharine, afterward the wife of Peter the Great, into his family, ii. 282.
Bayer, his opinion concerning the foſſil bones found in Siberia, iii. 170.
Beards, ſtill as tenaciouſly worn by the generality of the Ruſſians, as in former times, iii. 150. Edict of Peter I. againſt, *ibid. note.*
Bears, expedient of the hunters in Lithuania for eſcaping from them, i. 245.
Bedouar, Mr. his politeneſs, v. 63.
Belmain, general, reduces the Zaporogian Coſſacs, iii. 349.
Belts, Great and Little, paſſage of, v. 223.
Benzelius, archbiſhop of Upſala, ſome account of, iv. 185, *note.* His Acta Literaria Sueciæ, 185.
Bergman, Sir Tobias, profeſſor of chemiſtry at Upſala, his account of the mines of Sweden, iv. 183; and of the granite rocks, 184. His various ſtudies and publications, 228. Abſtract of his Sciagraphia Mineralis, 358.
Bernsdorf, count, agreeable ſituation of his villa near Copenhagen, v. 103.

v. 103. Tribute of gratitude erected to the late count, by his emancipated peaſants, 104.

Beſhuchef, chancellor of Ruſſia, his endeavours to exclude Peter III. from the ſucceſſion, iii. 5. His diſgrace and recal, 382.

Beſluchef, counteſs, her inhuman treatment by the empreſs Elizabeth of Ruſſia, ii. 169.

Biala, rivulet of, i. 122.

Bialliſtock, in Poland, deſcribed, i. 217.

Bielſk, capital of Podolachia, its miſerable ſtate, i. 216.

Bilitz, i. 122.

Birch-tree, manifold advantages of this tree to the natives of Norway, v. 15.

Biren, Erneſt John, duke of Courland, favourite of the empreſs Anne of Ruſſia—his ſevere adminiſtration, ii. 166. 256. His election to the duchy of Courland, 253. Biographical anecdotes of, *ibid.* His ingratitude to his patron, count Beſtuchef, 255. Plans the revolution which reſtored abſolute authority to the empreſs Anne, *ibid.* His arrogant and ſanguinary temper, 257. His character as a ſtateſman, 258. His magnificence, *ibid.* Procures the regency during the minority of prince Ivan, 259. His arbitrary exertions of power, *ibid.* His diſſenſion with prince Anthony Ulric, 260. Is arreſted, 262. Exiled to Siberia, 264. His recal, *ibid.* Recovers the dutchy of Courland, 265. His death, *ibid.*

Biſon of Lithuania, the female, deſcribed, i. 227.

Black ſea, a view of the Ruſſian commerce on, iii. 336. Harbours of, 340. Ports and territory ceded to Ruſſia, 415. Progreſs of the Ruſſians toward an intercourſe between the ports of, and the Mediterranean, 354. Reflections on this commerce, 355.

Blackſtone, judge, his remarks on the penal laws of Ruſſia, iii. 113, *note* examined, *ibid.*

Blagden, Dr. his inference from a compariſon between natural cold, and that produced by freezing mixtures, ii. 192, *note.*

Bleſſing of the waters, a religious rite performed on the Neva, deſcribed, ii. 222.

Bobrinſki, a ſon of Catherine II. by Gregory Orlof, 41—43, *note.*

Blue, Pruſſian, how compoſed, v. 37.

Bog-river, i. 216.

Boerhaave patroniſes Linnæus, iv. 201.

Bohus, in Sweden, the fortreſs of, deſcribed, iv. 268. 322.

Boleſlaus the Chaſte, king of Poland, introduces the Jus Magdeburgicum et Teutonicum, i. 108.

Bonaſus, of Ariſtotle, the female of, deſcribed, i. 227.

Boris Feodorovitch Godunof, tzar of Ruſſia, his hiſtory, i. 399. His character, 400. Muller's account of his death, 403. His ſuppoſed aſſaſſination of Demetrius, ii. 3. His conduct to Guſtavus, ſon of Eric xiv. iv. 248.

Bornſtein, Mr. inſpector of the Cobalt works at Foſſum. His hoſpitality, v. 36.

Bos Grunniens, of Linnæus, deſcription of, iii. 168.

Bothnia, gulph of, account of the paſſage over, when frozen, iv. 19.

Bowes, Sir Jerome, his embaſſy from queen Elizabeth of England, to the tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. of Ruſſia, i. 364.

Boxing match of the Ruſſian peaſants deſcribed, i. 310.

Boyar, import of that appellation in Ruſſia, iii. 137.

Brahe. See *Tycho* Brahe.

Brando, an iſland in the gulph of Bothnia, deſcribed, iv. 21.

Brandt, a Dutch ſhipwright, builds the Little Grandfire, and teaches the tzar Peter the Great the art of ſailing, ii. 173.

Brandt, count, his intrepid behaviour at his execution, v. 107.

Braniſki, counteſs, her hoſpitable politeneſs, i. 217. Her reſidence deſcribed, 319.

Braun, profeſſor, of Peterſburgh, the firſt who diſcovered the congelation of quickſilver, ii. 181.

Bretofſhina, a palace there, built by Alexey Michaelovitch, i. 392.

Britiſh exports and imports to and from Peterſburgh in one year, table of, iii. 307. Britiſh trade with Ruſſia, how conducted, 308. Trade on the Caſpian, hiſtory of, 318. The ſame to Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark, iv. 351.

Bronitza, a Ruſſian village, and its hill of granite, deſcribed, ii. 63.

Brown, general, governor of Riga, biographical anecdotes of, ii. 244.

Bruce, his account of the origin of Catharine I. of Ruſſia, compared with other writers, ii. 278, *note*. Affirms her marriage to Peter, 283, *note*. His account of the perſon and manners of the czarowitch Alexey, 305. His account of Alexey's death, 310. His narrative of circumſtances tending to prove the aſſaſſination of Charles XII. of Sweden, iv. 83.

Bucharians, their country and trade, deſcribed, iii. 234.

Buckinghamſhire, Lord, his account of the predilection of Peter III. for Frederic II. iii. 13, *note*. Of the conduct of Peter when refuſed admittance into Cronſtadt, iii. 32. His note on the death of Ivan, 63, *note*.

Buſch, profeſſor, his ſcheme to revive the commerce of the city of Lubec, v. 245.

Burghers of Poland, hiſtorical account of their privileges, i. 107.

Burghers

Burghers in Ruſſia, deſcribed, with their privileges, iii. 149.

Burroughs, Chriſtopher, his voyage on the Caſpian ſea, and ſhipwreck, iii. 320.

Buſching, his account of the population of the city of Moſcow, examined, i. 281. His examination into the reports of the origin of Catharine I. of Ruſſia, ii. 280, *note*. His account of her election to the empire after the death of Peter, 295, *note*. His account of the death of the tzarovitch Alexey, 309. His account of prince Ivan, iii. 47. His account of the interview between Peter III. and Ivan, 53. His anecdote of her indolent character, 77. His cenſure of Voltaire's life of Peter the Great, 251, *note*.

Butzau, George Henry, a Poliſh heyduc, killed in the attempt to aſſaſſinate king Staniſlaus, i. 39. Deſcription of the monument erected by the king to his memory, 48.

Byggé, profeſſor, his remark on the emancipation of the Daniſh peaſants, v. 105, *note*.

Bytranowſki, a Poliſh lieutenant of the confederates, ſurpriſes the citadel of Cracow, i. 131.

C.

Caffa, or Theodoſia, a port of the Black Sea, deſcribed, iii. 340.

Calmar, account of the treaty called the union of, iv. 91. Preſent ſtate of the town, 306. Caſtle, 307.

Camden, his deſcription of an antient monument in Cornwall, reſembling the Moraſteen of Sweden, iv. 188.

Canal of Viſhnei Voloſhok deſcribed, iii. 369. Of Ladoga, 375.

Cannon, the art of caſting, when and by whom introduced into Ruſſia, i. 330. ii. 171.

Cantzler, his account of the population of Sweden, iv. 121. Of the export trade, iv. 273.

Capital puniſhments, the expediency of, for the prevention of crimes, examined, iii. 114.

Cappel, town of, in the duchy of Sleſwic, deſcribed, v. 235.

Capra ammon, of Linnæus, or wild ram, deſcribed from the muſeum of the imperial academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, iii. 158.

Carlberg, captain, his opinion concerning the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, iv. 81.

Carliſle, lord, his embaſſy to Moſcow, and frivolous diſpute about precedency, iii. 304.

Carlſcrona, in Sweden, its ſituation and deſcription, iv. 282. The dock-yard, 283. Its covered docks, 284. Ship building there, 287. State of the navy, *ibid*.

Carlſgraf canal in Sweden, account of, iv. 257.

Carlſtadt, on the iſland of Tingwalla, in Sweden, deſcribed, v. 52.

Carlſtein, citadel of, iv. 324.

Carteret, lord, the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate, his letters to the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, reſpecting the claim of the tzar Peter to the title of emperor, i. 369, *note*.

Caſimir the Great, king of Poland, curbs the authority of his barons, i. 4. Attempts to introduce a law preſcribing the qualifications of electors, 104, *note*. His endeavours to amend the condition of the peaſants, 111. His life and character, 134. Remains of his palace, 144.

Caſimir III. king of Poland, his reign conſidered as the æra of the permanent eſtabliſhment of the Poliſh conſtitution, i. 1. 6. Renounces the right of requiring military ſervice, 7.

Caſimir, John, king of Poland, his reign diſtinguiſhed by the firſt introduction of the Liberum Veto, i. 12. The Arians perſecuted under his reign, 26, *note*. His adventures and character, 140.

Caſpian ſea, hiſtory of the Engliſh trade on, iii. 318. Jenkinſon the firſt Engliſh adventurer on, 319. Account of the Ruſſian trade on, 321. Ruſſian company formed for this trade, 322. Treaty between the empreſs Anne, and the Sophy of Perſia, concerning this trade, 323. Regulations of this trade formed by the preſent empreſs, *ibid.* Deſcription of this ſea, 324. Its ports, 325. Eſtimate of the Ruſſian trade on, 333. Communication between this ſea and the Baltic, 369.

Caſtellans of Poland, their office and power, i. 73.

Caſtera, his erroneous account of the abilities of Ivan, iii. 50, *note*.

Caſtleholm, antient palace of, in the iſle of Aland, account of, iv. 25.

Catharine I. empreſs of Ruſſia, her tomb, ii. 160. Her country and parentage, ii. 277. The various accounts of her family compared, *ibid. note*. Is received into the family of Gluck, a Lutheran miniſter of Marienburgh, 282. Marries a dragoon, *ibid.* Is taken priſoner, and protected by general Bauer, 282. Becomes the miſtreſs of Peter the Great, 283. Is married to him, *ibid.* Her great influence over him, 284. Her ſervice in obtaining the peace of Pruth, *ibid.* Is publicly crowned by Peter, 285. Peter incenſed againſt her for her infidelity, 286. Was not appointed his ſucceſſor, 289. Her meaſures to ſecure the throne, 290. Is proclaimed empreſs, 296. Character of her reign, *ibid.* Her death, *ibid.* Deſcription of her perſon and character, 297. Anecdotes of her behaviour, 299. Her humanity and compaſſion, 300. Is ſuſpected of influencing the proceedings againſt the tzarovitch Alexey, 313.

Catharine

Catharine II. concurs in the partition of Poland, i. 55. Eſtabliſhes the academy of ſciences, 159. Encourages theatrical repreſentations among her ſubjects, i. 389. Her converſation with Muller on the impoſture of Demetrius, ii. 19. Rebuilds Tver after a conflagration, 52. Her embelliſhment of St. Peterſburgh, 102. Her drawing-room deſcribed, 128. Her dreſs and deportment, 129. Balls at court, 131. The etiquette and ſplendour of her court, 133. Her dreſs of ceremony, 135. Her retirement, the hermitage, deſcribed, 140. The ordinary diſtribution of her time, 146. Anecdote of her death, 147, *note*. Her conduct on the death of her favourite Lanſkoi, 363. Her marriage with the great Duke, Peter III. iii. 2. Her unpleaſant ſituation during the life of Elizabeth, 6. Inconſiſtent behaviour to her, 15. His intention to repudiate and confine her, 17. Progreſs of the revolution which placed her on the throne, 17, 378. Is acknowledged ſole empreſs, 22, 376. Her manifeſto, 23, 381. Peter ſeized, 35. His formal renunciation of the crown, 36, 378. His death, 38. Her clemency to her enemies, 382. Account of her intimacy with Gregory Orlof, and of her ſon, by him, 41, *note*. Suſpicions of her being acquainted with the plot to releaſe Ivan, 67. Refuted, 68. Releaſes the children of the princeſs Anne, and prince of Brunſwick, from confinement, 79. Her clemency towards the followers of Pugatchef, 109. Aboliſhes the uſe of torture in criminal caſes, 113. Her anſwers to the author's queries, on the ſtate of the Ruſſian priſons, 122. Her intended reform of the priſons, 123. Publiſhes a new code of laws, 127. Forms a new diſtribution of the provincial governments, *ibid.* Alſo ii. 337. Her eſtabliſhment of ſchools in each diſtrict, 129. Her extenſion of municipal privileges, 147. Reforms and patroniſes the academy of ſciences at St. Peterſburgh, 161. Deputes ſeveral of the members to viſit the departments of the empire, *ibid.* Patroniſes the academy of arts, 191. Patroniſes the free economical ſociety, 194. Her eſtabliſhment for the improvement of agriculture, 196. Her couvent des Demoiſelles nobles, 199. Employs profeſſor Pallas in forming a *Flora Ruſſica*, 219. Her generous purchaſe of Pallas's collection of natural hiſtory, 220. Her encouragement of the ſtage, 262. Patroniſes literature, 270. Her improvement of the navy, 287. Her efforts towards an intercourſe between the ports of the Black Sea and Mediterranean, 354. Acquires the Crimea, or Crim Tartary, iii. 357.

Catharine, the wife of Eric XIV. Her tomb, iv. 18. His great regard for her, iv. 242. 244. Her character, widowhood, and death, 245.

Catharine Jaghellon, wife of John III. king of Sweden, her character, iv. 160.

Catharine, St. an order appropriated to the ladies in Ruſſia, by whom inſtituted, ii. 138, *note*.

Catharinenburgh, produce of the gold mines there, iii. 360. Mint eſtabliſhed there for the coining of copper, 365.

Cattegat, iv. 325.

Catharineſlaf, the capital of the government of Azof, iii. 351.

Cavendiſh, Mr. his concluſion from Mr. Hutchins's experiments on the coagulation of mercury, iii. 194.

Chancellor, the firſt Engliſhman who travelled from Archangel to Moſcow, his account of the Ruſſian poſtmaſters, ii. 73. His deſcription of Novogorod, 82. His diſcovery of the port of Archangel, and journey to Moſcow, iii. 297.

Charles I. king of England, his correſpondence with the tzars of Ruſſia, i. 365.

Charles II. king of England, his correſpondence with the tzar Alexey Michaelovitch, i. 366, iii. 304.

Charles IX. king of Sweden, his monument, and character, iv. 45. 320.

Charles XI. king of Sweden, his character, iv. 47. Obtains the ceſſion of abſolute power, 92. Patroniſes the bank of Stockholm, 131. His eſtabliſhment of the militia, 141.

Charles XII. of Sweden takes Cracow, i. 125. His reverence for the memory of John Sobieſki, king of Poland, expreſſed at his tomb, i. 143. Their characters compared, 144. Attempts to place James, ſon of John Sobieſki, on the throne, 200. His victory at Narva, ii. 238. How he eſcaped being taken priſoner by Peter the Great of Ruſſia, 293. His tomb, iv. 48. Declared an intention to marry, and cultivate peace, 49. His turbulent ſchemes and death, *ibid.* The cloaths and hat worn at his death, in the arſenal at Stockholm, 73. Inquiry into the circumſtances, and occaſion, of his death, *ibid.* Appearances upon examining his body in the vault, 86, 88, *note*. Appearance of a maſk moulded from his face after death, 89, *note*. His meaſures to ſupport the bank of Stockholm, 133. The ſpot where he was killed, v. 18. Farther teſtimony as to the cauſe of his death, v. 19. Deſcription of his perſon, 21.

Charles Canutſon, king of Sweden, brief account of, iv. 40.

Charles Guſtavus, king of Sweden, his family and character, iv. 431. His ambitious views, v. 113.

Charlotte Chriſtina, wife of Alexey Petrovitch, her tomb, ii. 162. Her birth, marriage, and death, 315. Her iſſue, 316. Her dying petition to Peter the Great, 317. Peter's viſit to her, 319. Account of a ſpurious hiſtory of her re-appearance, publiſhed in France, 320.

Charlton, Dr. his opinion of Stonehenge, v. 252, *note*.

Cheſs, a game familiar to, and very expertly played at by the Ruſſians, i. 384.

Chineſe literature, ſucceſsfully cultivated by the imperial academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, iii. 166.

Chineſe trade with Ruſſia, how conducted, iii. 235.

Chriſtian I. king of Denmark, ſome account of, v. 216. His character, 217. His tomb, 225.

Chriſtian II. of Denmark, fine characteriſtic portrait of, in the palace of Frederickſhorg, v. 181. His birth and low education, v. 225. His vicious habits, 226. Conquers Sweden, 227. His cruel tyranny, *ibid.* Is depoſed, 229. His impriſonment, *ibid.* And death, 233.

Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, fine painting of his naval heroiſm, in the palace at Copenhagen, v. 99. Popular ſong in praiſe of his bravery, 107.

Chriſtian VI. his patronage of letters, v. 146. His viſit to Tycho Brahe, 200.

Chriſtian VII. king of Denmark, his court, v. 100.

Chriſtiania, the capital of Norway, the approach to, deſcribed, v. 24. Its ſituation and buildings, 25. Its Latin ſchool, 26. Caſtle of Aggerhuus, *ibid.* Its harbour and trade, 27. Saw mills there, 28.

Chriſtianſhafen, a portion of the city of Copenhagen, and its inhabitants, deſcribed, v. 102.

Chriſtianſtadt, a fortified town in Sweden, deſcribed, iv. 289.

Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, her character, iv. 43. Alterations of the conſtitution under her government, 92.

Churches in Ruſſia, general ſtyle of, deſcribed, i. 318. Their extraordinary bells, 322. Cathedral of St. Michael, at Moſcow, 327. Cathedral of the aſſumption of the Virgin Mary, 341. Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul at Peterſburgh, ii. 157.

Cimabue, how he firſt attained a taſte for painting, ii. 88.

Clauſſen, general, his manufactories at Frederickſwerk, in Denmark, v. 184. His mechanical improvements, 186.

Clementina, Mary, daughter of prince James Sobieſki, married to the Chevalier de St. George, i. 202. Her children, *ibid.*

Clergy of Poland, their power and privileges, i. 105.

Clergy of Ruſſia, their diſtinctions and qualifications, i. 302. Dreſs of the pariſh prieſts, ii. 63. iii. 144. Their condition, iii. 140.

—— of Sweden, their degrees and regulations, iv. 110.

—— of Denmark, their degrees and revenues, v. 143.

Clifford, Mr. patroniſes Linnæus, iv. 202.

Climate, its ſuppoſed influence on the human faculties examined, iii. 233.

Cobalt works, at Foſſum, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 38.

Codex Argenteus, in the univerſity of Upſala, in Sweden, account of, iv. 173. Its hiſtory, 174. Controverſy concerning its antiquity, 176.

Coinage of Ruſſia, regulations of, ii. 172. Hiſtory of, iii. 183.

Coins of Poland, i. 207.

Cold, degree of it at St. Peterſburgh, 119, *note*. Its effects, 121.

Commandon, cardinal, his ſcheme for extending the corn trade of Poland, i. 94.

Confederacies in Poland, occaſion of forming, i. 29. 36. Their nature explained, 98.

Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, its ſituation, and number of inhabitants, v. 97. Its buildings deſcribed, *ibid.* The royal palace, 98. Stables, 99. The tower partly deſtroyed by a late fire, 100. New buildings, *ibid.* The court, *ibid.* The royal muſeum, 101. Iſle of Amak, 102. The citadel, 107. The environs of the city, 109. The royal park, *ibid.* Univerſity of, 145. The royal academy of ſciences, *ibid.* Royal ſociety for improving the northern hiſtory and languages, 146. Schools for children of the poor nobility and gentry, 148. Daniſh literature, *ibid.* The botanic garden, 158. The royal libraries, 165. Private libraries, 166.

Corn, how dried in unfavourable harveſts, in Ruſſia, ii. 65. and in Norway, v. 11.

Corps de cadets, ſeminary of, at Peterſburgh, account of, iii. 196.

Corſoer, on the iſland of Zealand, in Denmark, deſcribed, v. 221.

Coſſacks, of the Yaik, ſome account of their peculiar opinions, iii. 91. Rebellion of, 95. Join the party of the impoſtor Pugatchef, 97. Account of the Coſſacks in the Ruſſian army, 293. Rebellion of the Coſſacs of the Don, under Stenko Raſin, 321. Zaporogian, hiſtory of, 346.

Cottages in Ruſſia, how formed, with their internal accommodations, ii. 67. General mode of ſleeping in them, ii. 68.

Courland, entrance into, ii. 249. Extent and hiſtory of the duchy of, 250. Hiſtory of John Erneſt Biron, duke of, 253. Conſtitution of Courland, 266. Its dependency on the crown of Poland,

Poland, 266. Prerogatives of the duke, 267. Diets, 268. Nobles, 270. Courts of juſtice, *ibid.* Religion of, 275. Language, *ibid.* Its productions and trade, *ibid.* Deſcription of the country, *ibid.* Becomes a province of Ruſſia, ii. 274, *note* Abdication of the duke, *ibid.*

Couvent des demoiſelles nobles, at Peterſburgh, account of, iii. 199

Cracow, the ancient capital of Poland, ſeized by the confederates, i. 36. 125. Deſcribed, 124. Its univerſity, 127, 208. Palaces, 127. The kings of Poland crowned there, 128. Surpriſe of the citadel by the confederates, 131. Retaken, 132. Cathedral, *ibid.* Funeral ceremony of the kings of Poland, 133.

Cracow, biſhop of, propoſes a law againſt the Catholic adherents of the diſſidents, i. 28. Carried priſoner into Ruſſia, for his violence againſt the Diſſidents, i. 30. His return, *ibid. note.* His ſubſequent conduct, 32, *note.*

Cracus, the ſuppoſed founder of Cracow, his obſcure hiſtory, i. 130.

Crimea or Crim Tartary, the acquiſition of, by Ruſſia, iii. 357.

Cromwell, Oliver, renews the Engliſh intercourſe with the port of Archangel, iii. 303.

Cronborg, fortreſs of, at the entrance of the Sound, deſcribed, v. 85. Palace of, 87.

Cronſtadt, the ſtation of the Ruſſian navy, deſcribed, iii. 283. Cronſlot, and the citadel, 284. Its buildings, 285. Havens and docks, 286. State of the Britiſh intercourſe with this port, 307.

Cronſtedt, a Swediſh officer, confeſſes himſelf the aſſaſſin of Charles XII. of Sweden, iv. 85.

Cronſtedt, Axel Frederic, his mineralogical ſtudies and diſcoveries, iv. 225. His various publications, 226.

Curtis, Mr. character of his Flora Londinenſis, v. 160.

Cycle, Tartarian, adopted by the early Ruſſians, iii. 185.

Cyprian Metropolitan of Ruſſia, his chronicle, iii. 241.

Cyril, ſent from Conſtantinople, to convert the Sclavonian nations, iii. 229. Was the inventor of the Sclavonian alphabet, *ibid.*

Czarnieſki, general, under John Caſimir, king of Poland, his palace, i. 219.

D.

Dahl, river, in Sweden, v. 77. Cataract of, 78.

Dalecarlia, province, in Sweden, diſtinction ſhewn the inhabitants by Guſtavus III. v. 68. Account of, v. 70. Memorials of Guſtavus Vaſa there, 71.

Danemora, deſcription of the iron mines there, v. 81. Produce and regulations of the mine, 82.

Daſhkow princeſs, the part ſhe took in the revolution of 1762, iii. 381.

De Chappe, abbe, his erroneous account of the Ruſſian baths, corrected, ii. 229, *note*. His erroneous remark on the military ſervice of the Ruſſian nobles, 138, *note*.

Debt, the laws of Poland reſpecting it, i. 214.

Deichman, Mr. his literary bequeſt to the town of Chriſtiania, in Norway, v. 26.

Demetrius, ſon of the tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. his tomb, i. 335. Account of his ſuppoſed murder, ii. 2. His ſecond appearance, 4. His marriage and pretenſions to the Ruſſian throne, *ibid.* His firſt progreſs and defeat, 5. Enters Moſcow in triumph, and is acknowledged by his mother, 7. Loſes the affections of his ſubjects, 8. His character by Muller, *ibid.* Idle reports raiſed againſt him, 11, *note*. His aſſaſſination, 14. Artifice to ſpread the opinion of his being an impoſtor, 17. Examination of Muller's account of him, 325.

Denmark, the kingdom of, how ſeparated from Sweden, v. 84. Remains of the feudal ſyſtem there, 104. Its ancient form of government, 111. Narrative of the revolution in 1600, and the alterations produced by it, *ibid.* Review of the principal circumſtances of it, 115. New form of government, 129. Table of population in the Daniſh dominions, 133. Revenues, 134. Expenditure, 136. Debt, *ibid.* Account of the army, 137. Land cadets, 139. The navy, *ibid.* Naval armament under the armed neutrality, 142. Marine cadets, *ibid.* Religion, and eccleſiaſtical revenues, *ibid.* Literary inſtitutions at Copenhagen, and other parts of Denmark, 145. Schools and ſeminaries, 147. Patronage afforded to literature by the kings of Denmark, 164. Character of the prince royal, 168. Revolution in the adminiſtration effected by him, 173. Liſt of the army, 257. Liſt of the navy, 259.

Derbent, a Perſian city and haven of, on the Caſpian ſea, deſcribed, iii. 327.

Des Cartes, magnificent tomb executed for him at Stockholm, by Sergel, iv. 71.

Deſhnef, a Ruſſian navigator, paſſes the north eaſtern promontory of Aſia, i. 297.

Develina, truce of, between Ruſſia and Poland, i. 345.

Devier, general, ſent by Peter III. to ſecure Cronſtadt at the time of the revolution, iii. 29. Arreſted, 31.

Diet of Denmark, in 1660, hiſtory of the revolution effected in, v. 111.

Diet of Poland, decree of, in favour of the Diſſidents, i. 25. The Diſſidents incapacitated from ſitting in the diet, 27. Violent proceedings of, againſt the Diſſidents, 28. Awed by the Ruſſian power, 31. The partition treaty, how carried in the diet, 59. Authority of the general diet, 70. Times of holding it, 71. Conſtituent parts of the diet, 72. Forms of proceedings in, 75. Origin of the Liberum Veto, 78. Its pernicious effects, 80. Diet of confederacy, 82. Of convocation, 84. Forms of the diet of election, 85.

Diet of Sweden, the conſtituent parts of, iv. 107. The houſe of nobles, *ibid.* The clergy, 111. The houſe of citizens, 112. The houſe of peaſants, 113. Forms of proceeding, 116. Inveſted with the direction of the bank of Stockholm, 138.

Diet of Courland, ii. 268.

Dietines in Poland, their power, i. 6.

Dimidof, Mr. a private merchant, diſcovers the ſilver mines of Kolyvan, iii. 360.

Diſſidents in Poland, hiſtory of the ſects, i. 24, Import of the name, 25. Limitation of the term, 27, *note.* Are excluded from ſitting in the diet, 27. Ineffectual interference of foreign courts in their favour, 28. Violent proceedings of the diet againſt them, *ibid.* Confederacies of, formed, 29. The power of Ruſſia exerted in their favour, *ibid.* Final ſettlement of their pretenſions, 68.

Divorces, frequent in Poland, i. 106.

Dlugoſſius, the father of Poliſh hiſtory, when he lived, and the extent of his hiſtory, i. 2. *note.* His character of Caſimir the Great, 136.

Dnieper, river in Ruſſia, riſe and courſe of, i. 259. Dangerous mode of ferrying over this river, 266. Navigation of, iii. 353.

Dogorobuſh, a Ruſſian village, account of, i. 266.

Dolgorucki, prince, account of his villa at Vaſilioſſki, i. 316.

Dolgorucki, prince George, killed by the Strelitz guards, ii. 30.

Dolgorucki, princeſs Catharine, her extraordinary fate, i. 317.

Don, river, and the navigation on, deſcribed, iii. 352. Scheme for connecting it with the Volga, how defeated, 375.

Dorpt, in Livonia, deſcription of, ii. 239.

Dramme, river and town of, in Norway, account of, v. 32.

Drotningholm, the favourite palace of the late king of Sweden, deſcribed, iv. 65. Account of a gala day there, 66.

Duna river, ſource of, i. 274.

E.

Ehrenſahl, his excellent portrait of Charles XII. of Sweden, when a boy, v. 58.

Ehrenſwald, general, plans the fortifications of Sveaborg, iv. 15.

Einzellee, a Perſian port on the Caſpian ſea, deſcribed, iii. 329.

Elizabeth, queen of England, her correſpondence with the tzar Ivan Vaſſilvieitch II. of Ruſſia, i. 362.

Elizabeth, empreſs of Ruſſia, her character, ii. 167. Her matrimonial diſappointments, *ibid.* Her humanity doubtful, 169. Her treatment of the Counteſſes Beſtuchef and Lapookin, 169. Her death, 170. Appoints Peter III. to ſucceed her, iii. 2. Anecdote of her ſuſpicious character, and dread of a revolution, 3, *note*. Her interview with the dethroned Ivan, 48. Alterations made by her in the penal laws, 112. Remarks on theſe alterations, 113. Eſtabliſhes the academy of arts at St. Peterſburgh, 191.

Elizabeth, the youngeſt ſiſter of prince Ivan, her character, iii. 82.

Elliot, Mr. the Britiſh miniſter, his ſucceſsful mediation between the Danes and the Swedes, for the protection of Gotheborg, iv. 274.

Elſinoor, in Denmark, hiſtory and deſcription of, v. 85.

Elton, captain, revives the Engliſh trade on the Caſpian ſea, iii. 320.

Enkelſon, Benk, an old Norwegian, his account of the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, v. 19. His deſcription of Charles's perſon, 21.

Endkioping, near the lake of Mæler, in Sweden, account of, iv. 237.

England, the name of, from whence derived, v. 234.

Equus hemionus, deſcribed from the ſpecimen in the muſeum of the imperial academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, iii. 167.

Eric XIV. king of Sweden, place of his confinement, iv. 25. His perſecution of the family of Sture, iv. 152. His frantic behaviour, 154. Depoſed, 155. His aſtrological obſervations, and predictions, 180. Parallel between him and the emperor Rhodolph II. 181. His tomb in the cathedral at Weſteros, 238. Cauſes of his depoſition, *ibid.* His abdication and impriſonment, 239. Writes a vindication of his conduct, 240. His trial, 241. His cruel treatment, 242. His letters to his wife, 243. His death, *ibid.* His journal, and other writings, 244. His family and deſcendants, 246.

Eſther, the Jewiſh miſtreſs of Caſimir the Great, her tomb, i. 145.

Eſthonia. See *Livonia*.

Eudocia,

Eudocia, the firſt wife of Peter the Great, her hiſtory and character, ii. 217, *note*.

Everinus, an Engliſhman, the firſt biſhop of Upſala, in Sweden, iv. 155.

Euphroſyne, a Finland girl, miſtreſs of the tzarovitch Alexey; betrays him into his father's hands, ii. 307. Becomes his accuſer, *ibid*.

Eutin, account of the prince biſhop's palace there, v. 244.

Euxine ſea, reflection on the navigation of, allowed to the Ruſſians, iii. 337.

F.

Fabricius, John Chriſtian. Some account of, iv. 191, *note*. His anecdotes of the private life of the celebrated Linnæus, 212.

Fahlun, town, and copper mine of, in Sweden, v. 73. Proceſſes of ſmelting the ore, 74. Deſcent into the mine, 76.

Falconet, M. deſcription of his equeſtrian ſtatue of Peter the Great, at Peterſburgh, ii. 112.

Falko, archbiſhop of Upſala, in Sweden, iv. 162.

Farabat, a Perſian port on the Caſpian ſea, deſcribed, iii. 331.

Feodor, tzar of Ruſſia, his character, i. 334.

Feodor, the eldeſt ſon of the tzar Alexey Michaelovitch, his character, i. 338. His great confidence in his ſiſter Sophia, ii. 23.

Feudal ſyſtem, the tyrannical ſpirit of, greatly abridged, by the erection of municipal juriſdictions, i. 167. Reflections on its effects, ii. 272.

Finland, Ruſſian, and its productions deſcribed, iv. 3. Character of the peaſants, 7.

Finland, Swediſh, account of the entrance into, from Ruſſia, iv. 8. Louiſa, a town in the gulph of, 9. Route from Peterſburgh to Stockholm, 10. General character of this province, 12. Revenues and expences of, 129.

Fir trees of Norway, their age of felling, and produce of deal planks, v. 28. The ſaw-mills for, *ibid*.

Fires frequent in the Ruſſian villages, ii. 62.

Flendſburg, a Daniſh town on the Baltic, its commerce, v. 233.

Fletcher, Giles, Engliſh ambaſſador at Moſcow, concludes a commercial treaty between England and Ruſſia, iii. 300.

Flora Danica, account of this undertaking, v. 200.

Flora Londinenſis, of Mr. Curtis, character of, compared with the Flora Danica, v. 160.

Flora Ruſſica, of profeſſor Pallas, undertaken by order of the empreſs, iii. 219.

Florula Lapponica, the firſt publication of the celebrated Linnæus, iv. 199.

Floyd, general, his deſcription of a tournament exhibited by the great duke of Ruſſia, ii. 148. His account of the Coſſacs, iii. 293. His dangerous journey acroſs the gulph of Bothnia, iv. 19. His account of ancient Daniſh monuments, v. 250.

Flying mountain, in the garden at Oranienbaum deſcribed, ii. 208.

Foreſts of Norway, great advantages derived from, by the natives, v. 14.

Foſſil bones diſcovered in Siberia, account of, iii. 170.

Foſſum, and the cobalt works there, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 37. produce and profit of, *ibid.*

Foundling hoſpital at Moſcow, regulations of, i. 385.

Frederic II. king of Pruſſia, projects the partition of Poland, i. 52.

Frederic I. king of Denmark, his character, v. 237.

Frederic III. of Denmark, his character, v. 112. His intrepid defence of Copenhagen againſt the Swedes, 113. Had but a ſmall active ſhare in the ſubſequent revolution, 115, 120. Receives the grant of hereditary ſucceſſion, 123. Ceremony of receiving the oaths and homage of his ſubjects under the new form of government, 126. The moſt remarkable alterations made, 128.

Frederic V. founds a botanic garden for the compilation of a Flora Danica, v. 158.

Fredericſborg, a palace of the king of Denmark, deſcribed, v. 179. Collection of pictures there, 180.

Fredericſhall, in Norway, the principal trade carried on there, v. 17. The harbour choaked with ſaw-duſt, 18.

Frederickſhamn, a fortified town in Ruſſian Finland, deſcribed, iv. 6. The ſcene of an interview between Catherine and Guſtavus, king of Sweden, *ibid. note.*

Frederickſtadt, the fortreſs of, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 22.

Fredericſtein, fort of, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 18. Inquiry into the circumſtances of the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, before it, ii. 19.

Fredericſwerk, the public manufactures eſtabliſhed there by general Clauſſen, v. 184.

Freezing mixtures, for the congelation of quickſilver. How made, ii. 180.

Friedenſberg, a palace of the king of Denmark, deſcribed, v. 182.

Funen, iſland of, in Denmark, extent, and exports of, v. 233.

Furia infernalis, painful conſequences of this inſect lodging in the fleſh, with the remedy againſt it, iv. 195, *note.*

G.

Galicia, the appellation given to the Poliſh diſtrict of Auſtrian Poland, i. 122.

Galitzin, prince Boris, accuſes the princeſs Sophia of intending the aſſaſſination of the tzar Peter the Great, ii. 42. Takes the fortreſs of Schluſſelburg, 214. Claims the pardon of his enemy, prince Repnin, as his reward, 214.

Galitzin, prince Vaſſili, was the principal confident of the princeſs Sophia, ii. 35. Is haniſhed to Siberia, 41.

Geer, baron, his iron founderies at Loefſta, in Sweden, v. 79.

Geſle, a town in Sweden, deſcribed, v. 77. Its trade, *ibid.*

George, St. or order of merit, in Ruſſia, by whom inſtituted, and its claſſes, ii. 137, *note*.

Georgia annexed to the Ruſſian empire, iii. 225, *note*.

Gillibert, Mr. ſuperintendant of the college and phyſic garden at Grodno, i. 226. His account of natural productions in Lithuania, 227.

Glebof, general, his cruel treatment by Peter the Great, and magnanimity under it, ii. 218, *note*.

Globe of Gottorp, in the cabinet of the imperial academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, deſcribed, iii. 189. Is ſurpaſſed by Dr. Long's ſphere in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, 190, *note*.

Glomme, river, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 23, 47.

Gluck, a Lutheran miniſter of Marienburgh, the patron of Catharine I. of Ruſſia, ii. 282. Her kindneſs to his family, 299.

Gmelin, Samuel, profeſſor at Tubingen, in Ruſſia, his travels, iii. 221. Is arreſted in Tartary, 222. His death, 223.

Gneſna, archbiſhop of, primate of Poland, his authority during an interregnum, i. 84.

Gordon, general, character of his life of Peter the Great of Ruſſia, ii. 20, *note:* Calumniates the princeſs Sophia, ii. 35. Defeats the revolted Strelitz, 43. His life and character, 174, *note*. His account of Peter's firſt naval experiments, 175. His character of the empreſs Catharine I. 298.

Gortz, baron, the true cauſe of his impriſonment and execution, on the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, iv. 79, *note*. His expedient to ſupply Charles with money, 133.

Gotha, river, in Sweden, account of, iv. 257. 267.

Gotheborg, ſcenery of the country between this town and Trolhætta, iv. 267. Its hiſtory, i. 268. Its ſituation, 269. Royal ſociety of

of ſciences and literature formed there, 270. Its population and trade, *ibid.* Eaſt India company, 271. The herring fiſhery, 272. How the town was ſaved from the hands of the Danes, 273. General ſtate of the country from this town to Carlſcrona, 275.

Gottorp, the ancient reſidence of the dukes of Sleſwick, account of, v. 236.

Gran, in Norway, and its ſiſter churches, deſcribed, v. 43.

Granite, how poliſhed by the Ruſſian builders, ii. 105.

Greek worſhip, peculiarities of, i. 260. 301. 320. Alſo *note*.

Gripſholm, a palace of the king of Sweden, deſcribed, iv. 317. Paintings there, 318.

Griſlehamn, dangerous paſſage from thence to Abo, iv. 28, *note*. Diſtance from thence to Stockholm, and deſcription of the country, 31.

Grodno, the chief town in Lithuania, deſcribed, i. 220. 224. Palaces, 224. Royal academy of phyſic there, 226. Account of the manufactories eſtabliſhed there, 231.

Guilds in Ruſſia, privileges attached to the merchants who are inrolled in them, iii. 308.

Guldenſtaedt, profeſſor, his travels, iii. 223. His viſit to prince Heraclius of Georgia, 224. And to prince Solomon of Imeretia, 226. His death, 228.

Gurief, a Ruſſian port on the Caſpian ſea, deſcribed, iii. 325.

Guſtavus Vaſa, king of Sweden, the form of government eſtabliſhed under him, iv. 92. His tomb and character, 157. Genealogical table of his deſcendants, 158. His patronage of the univerſity of Upſala, 165. His retreat in Dalecarlia deſcribed, v. 70.

Guſtavus, ſon of Eric XIV. of Sweden, ſtrange viciſſitudes of his life, iv. 246.

Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, his character, iv. 41. His death, 42. His tomb opened by prince Henry of Pruſſia, *ibid.* Coloſſal ſtatue of, how executing, 70. The ſkin of his horſe in the arſenal of Stockholm, 72. Extenſion of the regal prerogatives under him, 92. His benefactions to the univerſity of Upſala, 166. 172.

Guſtavus III. king of Sweden, his deportment, iv. 36. His ſtrict adherence to court etiquette, probably from political motives, 37. Particulars of him and his family, 39. Account of a gala day at the palace of Drotningholm, 66. His patronage of literature and the polite arts, 69. His tribute to the memory of baron Gortz, 79, *note*. View of the frame of government eſtabliſhed by the late revolution, 97. Remarks on his prerogatives, *ibid.*

ibid. His reform of the current coin, 140. His reforms in the adminiſtration of juſtice, 147. Aboliſhes torture, 148. His conduct when Gotheborg was menaced by the Danes, 273.

Guſtavus Adolphus, the ſecond, of Sweden, aſſaſſinated by Ankerſtroem, iv. 63.

Guthrie, Dr. of Peterſburgh, his experiments on the congelation of quickſilver by cold, ii. 180.

Gymnaſia, ſeminaries of education in Sweden, account of, iv. 54.

H.

Haga, a villa of the king of Sweden, its gardens deſcribed, iv. 66, *note*.

Haller introduces the art of printing into Poland, i. 126.

Hamlet's garden, near Cronborg, traditional hiſtory of, v. 89. Whence Shakeſpeare derived his dramatic incidents relating to this prince, 90. Sketch of the hiſtory of Hamlet, 91.

Hammer, a decayed town in Norway, and its ruins, v. 46.

Harald Blaatand, the firſt Chriſtian king of Denmark, one of the invaders of England, v. 210. Genealogical table of his deſcendants on the throne of Denmark, 209.

Helen's ſpring, St. in the royal park, near Copenhagen, popular anniverſary meeting at, v. 109.

Helſingfors, in Swediſh Finland, ſituation of, iv. 13. A ball there, *ibid.*

Hemp, the trade in, how conducted at Riga, ii. 242. Account of a good ſubſtitute for, 243, *note*.

Henry of Valois, the firſt king of Poland, after the formation of the Pacta conventa, i. 10.

Heraclius, prince, of Georgia, anecdotes of, iii. 224, *note*.

Herberſtein, baron, his deſcription of the city of Moſcow, i. 280.

Hermitage, palace of, at Peterſburgh, deſcribed, ii. 140. Summer and winter gardens, 141. Cabinet of pictures, 143.

Herring fiſhery of Sweden, how conducted at Gotheborg, iv. 272.

Heſſe, Frederic prince of, why ſuſpected of having treacherouſly occaſioned the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, iv. 77.

Hirſholm, a palace of the king of Denmark, deſcribed, v. 178.

Hiſtorians of Ruſſia, account of, with their works, iii. 237.

Holberg, his account of the water fowl of Lapland, iv. 58, *note*. His account of the rein-deer, 59, *note*.

Holſtein guards, manifeſtations of their attachment to Peter III. during the revolution by which he was depoſed, iii. 33.

Holſtein Gottorp, Charles Frederic duke of, marries the princeſs Anne of Ruſſia, ii. 163. Loſes his ſucceſſion to the crown of Sweden, *ibid. note.*

Holy Trinity, monaſtery of, excurſion to, i. 389. Deſcribed, 393.

Homer's hymn to Ceres, diſcovered in the library of the holy ſynod at Moſcow, i. 379. Remarks on this hymn by Ruhnkenius, 386.

Houſes, ready made, brought to market at Moſcow, i. 382.

Huen, iſle of, in Denmark, deſcribed, v. 189. The farm houſe of Tycho Brahe, 190.

Hutchins, Mr. governor of Hudſon's Bay, his experiments there, on the congelation of quickſilver by cold, ii. 183. Concluſions drawn from theſe experiments by Mr. Cavendiſh, 194.

I.

Jabloniſka, the palace of the biſhop of Plotſko, deſcribed, 170.

Jacob, Dr. Robert, occaſions a propoſal from Ivan Vaſſilevitch II. to eſpouſe lady Anne Haſtings, i. 363.

Jaghellon, houſe of, kings of Poland, i. 5. Genealogical table of, 18.

James VI. of Scotland, his viſit to Tycho Brahe, the Daniſh aſtronomer, and compliments paid to him, v. 199.

Ice hills, in Ruſſia, how formed, and the diverſions of, deſcribed, ii. 123.

Iceland, its early repute for literature, v. 149. Its hiſtory, *ibid.* Language, 150. Account of the ſtalds or bards, and their compoſitions, *ibid.* How the natives were converted to Chriſtianity, 152, *note.* Their ancient writers, 152. Printing, when, and by whom, introduced into Iceland, 156, *note.*

Jenkinſon, the firſt Engliſhman who navigated the Caſpian ſea, iii. 319.

Jews, in Poland, carry on the principal retail trade of the country, i. 93. The great privileges enjoyed by them, 118. Eſtimate of their numbers in Poland, 120, *note.* How they acquired the favour of Caſimir the Great, 145. Are peculiarly numerous in Lithuania, 237.

Imeretia, deſcription of, iii. 226.

Inland navigation, great extent of, in Ruſſia, iii. 369. From Tobolſk to the Volga, *ibid. note.* Canal of Viſhnei Voloſhok, 369. Canal of Ladoga, 375. Scheme of joining the Don with the Volga, how hitherto defeated, *ibid.* Canal of Trolhætta, in Sweden, iv. 253.

Joachim, patriarch of Ruſſia, his influence in the appointment of the tzar Peter the Great, ii. 26.

Job, patriarch of Ruſſia, ſome account of, i. 342.

John, king of Denmark, anecdotes and character of, v. 225.

John III. king of Sweden, his character, iv. 159. Cauſes his brother Eric to be poiſoned, 243.

John Albert, king of Poland, confirms all the immunities extorted from his predeceſſors, i. 7. Endeavours to enable the peaſantry to engage in commerce, 93.

John Caſimir, the Liberum Veto eſtabliſhed during his reign, i. 12. Sketch of his life and character, 141.

Jones, Inigo, his opinion of Stonehenge, v. 251. *note*.

Jonkioping, the capital of Smoland, in Sweden, deſcribed, iv. 310.

Joſeph II. joins with Frederic II. in the partition of Poland, i. 54.

Iron, native, deſcription of a large maſs of, found in Siberia, iii. 174. Account of the Ruſſian iron works at Olonetz, 364; and in the Uralian mountains, *ibid.* At Loefſta, in Sweden, v. 79.

Iſabella, the wife of Chriſtian II. king of Denmark, character of, v. 181.

Iſlief, biſhop of Skalholt, in Iceland, biographical anecdotes of, v. 154.

Itchora, a village in the neighbourhood of Peterſburgh, ii. 92.

Ivan, ſecond ſon of the tzar Alexey Michaelovitch, and half-brother to Peter the Great, his character, i. 339. Is excluded the throne for incapacity, ii. 24. Afterwards aſſociated with Peter in the government, 31.

Ivan Milolaſlki excites the Strelitz to rebel, ii. 29.

Ivan, prince, ſon of Anne of Mecklenburgh, and Anthony Ulrick, prince of Brunſwick, his birth and acceſſion to the crown of Ruſſia, iii. 45. Is depoſed and ſeized by Elizabeth, 46. His various places of confinement, 47. His reſidence at Schluſſelburgh, deſcribed, 48. His character, and private behaviour, 50. His interview with Peter III. 53. Removed to Keſcholm, and in danger of being drowned, 56. Again transferred to Schluſſelburgh, i. 57. The occaſion of his death, *ibid.* Remarks on this event, 67. His perſon deſcribed, 64. Account of his family, 75. How they were confined, 78.

Ivan Vaſſielivitch, tzar of Ruſſia, ſhort account of his reign and character, i. 329.

Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. his character unjuſtly aſperſed in hiſtory, i. 332. His true political character, 333. His correſpondence with Philip and Mary of England, 362; and with queen Elizabeth, *ibid.* His negociations for a marriage with the lady Anne

Haſtings, 363. His treatment of Magnus, king of Livonia, 396. Obtains poſſeſſion of Novogorod, ii. 80. Formed the firſt regular code of written laws for Ruſſia, iii. 124, *note*. Was the firſt Ruſſian prince who ſtruck gold coins, 185. His favourable reception of the Engliſh, 298.

Juliana Maria, queen dowager of Denmark, the abſolute ſway ſhe acquired in the adminiſtration, v. 168. Is ſupplanted by the prince royal, 173.

Jurymen in Sweden, iv. 146.

K.

Keith, Mr. his account of the irkſome ſituation of Catherine II. when grand ducheſs, iii. 6. *note*. Of the firſt appearance of Gregory Orlof at court, 41. *note*. His deſcription of Munich's appearance at court, on his recal from baniſhment, 89. *note*. His letter on the revolution of 1762, 377.

Kertſch, a fortreſs on the Black Sea, its importance, iii. 345.

Kheraſkof, a Ruſſian poet, iii. 269. General account of his writings, *ibid.* Character of his epic poem, the Roſſiada, *ibid.* His preferments, 270.

Kherſon, the new Ruſſian town on the Dnieper, deſcribed, iii. 350.

Khilkof, prince, account of his hiſtory of Ruſſia, iii. 246.

Kibitka, a Ruſſian travelling carriage, deſcribed, ii. 91.

Kiel, the diſtrict and town of, in the dutchy of Holſtein, deſcribed, v. 239. Its canal, 240. Object of this canal, 241.

Kinburn, port of, in the Black Sea, account of, iii. 345.

King, Dr. his account of the Ruſſian churches, i. 319. *note*. 321; and of clerical dignities, iii. 142.

Kiof, biſhop of, arreſted, and baniſhed for his perſecution of the Diſſidents, i. 30.

Kioping, in Sweden, account of, v. 53.

Kiſlar, a Ruſſian port on the Caſpian, iii. 325.

Klara Elbe, river in Sweden, deſcribed, v. 51.

Klutſhina, deſcription of the locks there, to connect the Tvertza with the Zna, iii. 370.

Knaes, the import of that diſtinction in Ruſſia, iii. 137.

Knighthood, orders of, in Ruſſia, ii. 136. *note*.

Kuighthood, orders of, in Sweden, iv. 233. *note*.

Knights of the ſword, ſubdue the province of Livonia, ii. 234.

Knoot, a Ruſſian puniſhment, deſcribed, iii. 110. Dimenſions of the inſtrument, *ibid. note*.

Kolyvan, the ſilver mines of, when diſcovered, iii. 360. Their produce, 361. Their ſtate in 1784, 367.

Kongſberg, and its ſilver mines, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 33. Produce and coinage of, 34.

Kongſteen, fortreſs of, in Norway, employment of criminals there, v. 23.

Kongſwinger, fortreſs of, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 48.

Korb, his account of the tortures employed by the tzar Peter the Great on the revolted Strelitz, to extort accuſations againſt his ſiſter Sophia, ii. 44.

Koſciuſko, his attempt to reſtore the independence of his country, i. 179.

Koſinſki, one of the conſpirators againſt Staniſlaus, king of Poland, i. 38. The king's teſtimony in his behalf, i. 42. *note*. Relents and ſaves the king, 44. His private hiſtory, 48. Is gratified with a penſion in exile, 49.

Koſtof, a port on the Black Sea, iii. 340.

Kraſnoi Caback, the public houſe where Catherine repoſed, in her march againſt her huſband at the revolution of 1762, iii. 25.

Kulibin, a Ruſſian peaſant, his model for a wooden bridge over the Neva at Peterſburgh, ii. 108. Account of him, 111.

Kumblinge, an iſland in the gulph of Bothnia, deſcribed, iv. 21. Character of the inhabitants, *ibid.*

Kungſær, village of, in Sweden, and the country round it, deſcribed, iv. 250.

Kymen, river, the limit that ſeparates the empire of Ruſſia from Sweden, iv. 8.

L.

La Neuville, character of his relation de la Moſcovie, ii. 21. *note*. The real writer of this work, *ibid.* His character of the princeſs Sophia, 34. *note*.

Ladiſlaus III. ſecures his ſucceſſion to the crown of Poland, by confirming the privileges of the nobles, i. 6.

Ladiſlaus Jaghellon, duke of Lithuania, elected king of Poland, i. 5. Brief ſketch of his life and character, 137.

Ladiſlaus IV. tomb of, i. 141.

Ladiſlaus Loketec, king of Poland, his depoſition and reſtoration, i. 128.

Ladoga, the canal of, deſcribed, iii. 375.

Lady, a village in Ruſſia, deſcription of the poſt-houſe there, i. 253.
Lakes in Sweden, general character of, v. 51.
Landſcrona, in Sweden, deſcription of the works and harbour of, iv. 296.
Landſkron, the fortreſs of, in Poland, i. 131.
Langebek, promotes an inſtitution for the improvement of northern hiſtory and languages at Copenhagen, v. 146. Account of, 148. *note*. His travels, 165.
Lapland, general deſcription of the country, iv. 55. General mode of life of the inhabitants, 56. The manner in which they guard againſt the cold, 57. *note*. Their rein-deer, 59. Their language, 61. Affinity between the language of Lapland and that of Hungary, *ibid*. The natives ſuppoſed to be deſcended from the Huns, 64.
Lapookin, counteſs, her inhuman treatment by the empreſs Elizabeth of Ruſſia, ii. 169.
Latin language common in Poland, i. 164.
Laurentius Petri, the firſt proteſtant archbiſhop of Upſala, in Sweden, ſome account of, iv. 163.
Leſko II. king of Poland, his fabulous hiſtory, i. 2. *note*.
Le Clerc, his numiſmatic hiſtory of Ruſſia, iii. 183. *note*.
Le Fort, the favourite of the tzar Peter the Great, his character, ii. 36.
Leſloc, account of, iii. 8. *note*.
L'Eveſque, his remarks on the conduct of prince Mentchikof toward the tzarovitch Alexey, ii. 305. *note*. His account of the riſe and progreſs of a ſpurious hiſtory of the adventures of the princeſs Charlotte, Alexey's wife, 322. *note*. His character of prince Sherebatof's Ruſſian hiſtory, iii. 250.
Liberum Veto, in the Poliſh conſtitution, what, and when firſt introduced, i. 12. Origin of this privilege, 78. Probable cauſes of its being ſupported, 79. Its pernicious effects, 80.
Lichen rangeferinus, the peculiar food of the rein-deer, its great abundance in Lapland, iv. 60.
Liewen, count, his opinion concerning the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, iv. 80.
Lindkioping, town of, iv. 314.
Linné or *Linnæus*, his account of the Laplanders, iv. 57. *note*. Account of his Amœnitates Academicæ, iv. 171. Biographical anecdotes of, 192. His early propenſity to botany, *ibid*. Learns natural hiſtory in the univerſity of Lund, 194. How induced to ſtudy the nature of inſects, 195. His removal to the univerſity of Upſala, 196. Is patroniſed by Olaus Celſius,

197; and by Olaus Rudbeck, 197. His botanical excurſion into Lapland, 198. His botanical lectures at Upſala prohibited, 199. Studies mineralogy in Norway, 200. Travels into Holland, 201. Is patroniſed by Boerhaave, *ibid.* Acquires the patronage of Mr. Clifford, 202. His writings on natural hiſtory, *ibid.* Marries and ſettles at Stockholm, 204. Patroniſed by count Teſſin, 205. Founds the royal academy of ſciences, *ibid.* Is appointed profeſſor of botany at Upſala, *ibid.* His letters to Mr. Pennant, 207. *note.* His lectures, and botanical excurſions, 205. His decline, and death, 210. His funeral and monument, 211. Anecdotes of his private life, 212. His perſon and character deſcribed, 214. His family, 218. His ſcientifical eminence, *ibid.*

Literature, ſtate of, in Poland, i. 209.

Literature, Ruſſian, hiſtorical view of, iii. 235. Hiſtorians, 237, 256. 266. Poets, 252. Account of claſſic and other authors, tranſlated into the Ruſſian tongue, 271.

Lithuania, revenue of, i. 89. Military eſtabliſhment, 97. *note.* The natives of, converted to Chriſtianity, by Ladiſlaus Jaghellon, 221. Alliance of, with Poland, 222. Union of, with Poland, effected by Sigiſmond Auguſtus, 223. Conteſts about the place to which the diets ſhould be ſummoned, 224. Wild animals in the foreſts of, 227. The biſon, *ibid.* Birds, 228. Other natural productions, 229. Extraordinary numbers of Jews there, 237. The roads, *ibid.* Strange method of harneſſing horſes to carriages there, 243. Contraſt between the Lithuanian peaſants and thoſe of Switzerland, 246.

Little Grandſire, the origin of the Ruſſian marine, hiſtory of this boat, ii. 172. Its conſecration at Peterſburgh, 178.

Livonia, and Eſthonia, province of, raiſed to a kingdom by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II, i. 396. Brief hiſtory of, ii. 233. Is conquered from the Swedes by Peter the Great, and finally ceded to Ruſſia, 236.

Livonia, Poliſh, a portion of the Ruſſian diviſion of Poland, i. 251.

Lodomeria, the appellation given to the Poliſh diſtrict acquired by Auſtria, i. 122.

Loeſſta, the ſeat of the Swediſh baron Geer, and his iron founderies, v. 79.

Lomonozof, the Ruſſian poet, anecdotes of his life, iii. 253. Character of his compoſitions, 254. His performances in painting and moſaic, 256.

Long, Dr. his deſcription of the ſphere erected by him in Pembroke college, Cambridge, iii. 190. *note.*

Louis, king of Hungary, received the crown of Poland on conditions which increaſed the power of the nobles, i. 5.

Louis XVIII. of France, reſides at Mittau, ii. 249. *note.*
Louiſa, a town in the gulph of Finland, deſcribed, iv. 9.
Louiſa Maria, wife of Ladiſlaus IV. and of John Caſimir, ſucceſſively kings of Poland, her character, i. 141.
Louiſa Ulrica, queen dowager of Sweden, her character and death, iv. 39.
Lowitz the aſtronomer, wantonly killed by the rebel Pugatchef, iii. 103. 375.
Lubec, the head of the Hanſeatic league, its preſent ſtate deſcribed, v. 244.
Lukawſki engages in a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate Staniſlaus king of Poland, i. 38. Rifles the king, 41. Beheaded, 49.
Lund, the capital of Scania, in Sweden, iv. 297. Its univerſity and botanic garden, *ibid.* The cathedral, 298. Legend concerning its ſubterranean chapel, *ibid.*
Lye, Mr. of Oxford, account of his edition of the Codex Argenteus, of Upſala, iv. 176.

M.

Mackarel diſliked by the Norwegians, v. 14.
Mæler, lake of, in Sweden, ſome account of, iv. 250. 319. See *Trolhætta.*
Magnus, duke of Holſtein, titular king of Livonia, his extraordinary hiſtory, i. 394.
Magnus Ladulas, king of Sweden, brief account of, iv. 40.
Maiſon de Bain, a villa belonging to the king of Poland, deſcribed, i. 160.
Mallet, his reflections on the character of Charles Guſtavus, king of Sweden, iv. 45.
Malo a viaſma, i. 275.
Manguſhlak, a Tartar port on the Caſpian ſea, iii. 332.
Manſtein arreſts Biron, ii. 263.
Margaret of Valdemar, queen of Denmark, relics of her preſerved at Upſala, iv. 164. Her tomb at Roſkild, v. 212. Circumſtances of her birth, 213. Her marriage to Haquin, king of Norway, 214. Gains the ſovereignty of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, 215. Her death, 216.
Margaret, his character of the tzar Demetrius, ii. 9.
Maria, titular queen of Livonia, her hiſtory and pedigree, i. 395.
Maria Feodorofna, mother of Demetrius, is compelled to aſſume the veil

veil on his murder, ii. 3. Is ſent for by the ſuppoſed Demetrius, and acknowledges him as her ſon, 7. Pretended to have declared him an impoſtor, 15.

Maria de la Grange, wife of John Sobieſki, king of Poland, her character, i. 192. Her endeavours to exclude her eldeſt ſon from being elected king, 197. Her ſubſequent hiſtory, 205.

Marianopoli, a port on the Black ſea, iii. 351.

Mariemont, mill of, the place where Staniſlaus Auguſtus took refuge, i, 44.

Marieſtadt, in Sweden, ſome account of, iv. 252.

Mary Charlotte, daughter of James Sobieſki, i. 201.

Marſhal of the equeſtrian order in the diet of Poland, how choſen, i. 74. Great marſhal of Poland, his authority, i. 212.

Marſtrand, iſland of, in Sweden, and its trade, deſcribed, iv. 323. Its harbour and fortifications, 324.

Maſquerades, deſcription of, at the court of Peterſburgh, ii. 139.

Maſt trade, account of, ii. 242.

Matilda, queen of Denmark, her confinement in the palace of Cronborg, v. 87. Her grief at parting from her infant daughter there, 88. Her death and character, *ibid.*

Matthæi, Mr. his catalogue of Greek manuſcripts in the library of the holy ſynod at Moſcow, i. 376. Diſcovers Homer's hymn to Ceres in that library, 379.

Maximilian I. emperor of Germany, was the firſt ſovereign who conferred the title of emperor on the tzar of Ruſſia, i. 367.

Medſhetiſar, a Perſian port on the Caſpian, iii. 331.

Medwi, in Sweden, its medicinal waters, and the regulations obſerved by thoſe who come to drink them, iv. 312.

Melgunef procures the enlargement of the brothers and ſiſter of Ivan, iii. 79.

Menzikof, prince, his ingratitude to the princeſs Anne of Holſtein, ii. 165. His firſt introduction to Peter the Great, 201. His rapid promotion, 202. Aſſiſted Peter in the execution of the revolted Strelitz, 204. His talents and influence, *ibid.* His great ſhare in the adminiſtration of government under Catharine I. 205, 296. His fall and death, *ibid.* Summary account of his family, 206. Manner in which he ſecured the acceſſion of Catharine I. ii. 290. His conduct towards Alexey, the ſon of Peter, 304.

Merchants of Ruſſia, the different claſſes, and privileges of, iii. 147. 310.

Mercury. See *Quickſilver*.

Meyer, Mr. his analyſis of a maſs of native iron brought from Siberia, iii. 174. *note*.

Michael, St. cathedral of, at Moſcow, deſcription of, with the tombs of the tzars, i. 328.

Michael Feodorovitch, firſt tzar of Ruſſia, of the houſe of Romanof, ſhort account of his reign, i. 336. Hiſtory of his father Philaretes, 342. Receives aſſiſtance from Charles I. of England, 364.

Miciſlaus II. king of Poland, the firſt monarch of that country of whoſe reign there are authentic annals, i. 3.

Mikaulka, a villa of Count Peter Panin, i. 312.

Mines in Ruſſia, thoſe belonging to the crown, iii. 359. Mines and founderies in private hands, 365. Profits of government from the mines, and duties upon iron, 366.

Mines of Sweden, ſtate of, iv. 183.

Minſk, a town of Lithuania, deſcribed, i. 240.

Mioſs, lake, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 46.

Mir, a poor village in Lithuania, i. 239.

Mirovitch, Vaſſili, account of his attempt to releaſe prince Ivan from the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh, iii. 57. Surrenders himſelf upon the murder of Ivan, 63. His trial, 65. His undaunted behaviour and execution, 66. Remarks on this tranſaction, 67.

Mittau, the town and ducal palace of, deſcribed, ii. 249.

Mniſhek, a Poliſh nobleman, patroniſes Demetrius, ii. 4.

Molck, count, his cabinet of natural hiſtory, v. 101. Elegant entertainment given by him on board his ſhip, 105.

Moleſworth, lord, his account of the revolution in Denmark in 1660, juſtified, v. 130.

Mongul hordes, their conqueſts under Zenghis Khan, iii. 180. Hiſtory of, by Profeſſor Pallas, 216.

Mons, firſt chamberlain to Catharine I. of Ruſſia, diſcovery of his criminal intimacy with her, ii. 286. Is executed, *ibid.*

Monplaiſir, the favourite retreat of Peter the Great, at Peterhof, deſcribed, ii. 211.

Mora, or Moraſteen, the ancient place of election of the kings of Sweden, deſcribed, iv. 187.

Moroſof, prime miniſter to the tzar Alexey Michaelovitch, his magnificent preſent to the cathedral of the Aſſumption of the Virgin Mary at Moſcow, i. 340.

Moſcow, the approach to that city deſcribed, i. 277. Hiſtory of its foundation, 278. Its ſituation, extent, and population, 281. Irregularity of its buildings, 283. Its diviſions, 284. The palace 288. Public vehicles, 290. The public garden, or Vauxhall, 315. The churches, 318. The old palace, or Kremlin, 323. Tombs of the tzars, 327. How the patriarchal ſee came to be tranſlated from Conſtantinople to this city, 342. Archives of Ruſſia,

Ruſſia, how kept, 360. The univerſity, 372. The general ſtudies, and principal books uſed in this univerſity, 373. The gymnaſia, 374. Account of the Greek MSS. in the library of the holy ſynod, 376. This city the centre of the inland trade of Ruſſia, 381. The ſhops deſcribed, *ibid.* Market for ready-made houſes, 382. Police for prevention of riots, 383. Foundling hoſpital, 384.

Moſhaiſk, i. 275.

Moſkva river deſcribed, i. 277. 287. 381.

Moſs, in Norway, and its iron works, deſcribed, v. 24.

Motraye, his remark on the parentage of Catharine I. of Ruſſia, ii. 278. *note*. His account of the water fowl in Lapland, iv. 58. *note*. His account of the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, 75.

Muller, George Frederic, the Ruſſian hiſtorian, particulars relating to, i. 294. His life and character, 295. His principal works, 298. His account of the death and character of the tzar Boris Godunof, 402. His account of the murder of Demetrius, ii. 2. *note*. His character of the pretended Demetrius, 9. His avowal that Demetrius was the ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch, 19. *note*. Account of his converſation with the empreſs on that ſubject, *ibid.* Examination of his account of Demetrius, 325. His account of the acceſſion of Peter the Great, 25. His conjectures concerning the ſepulchral ornaments found in Siberia, 178. His miſtake as to the author of Neſtor's chronicle, 240. His character of Neſtor, and of his continuators, 241. Publiſhes prince Khilkof's Ruſſian hiſtory, 247. His cenſure of Voltaire's conduct in writing the life of Peter the Great, 252. *note*. Furniſhes the author with anecdotes on the revolution of 1763, iii. 44.

Munich, marſhal, his diſcontent againſt Biron, ii. 262. Plans his arreſt, *ibid.* Impriſoned by the empreſs Elizabeth, and releaſed by Peter III. iii. 8. His prudent advice to Peter during the revolution by which he was depoſed, 27. His firm juſtification of his conduct to the empreſs Catharine, 39. His early hiſtory, 84. His preferment in the Ruſſian ſervice, 85. His diſgrace, 86. His baniſhment into Siberia, 87. His recal, 88. Account of his appearance at court, 89. *note*. His death, 90.

Municipal juriſdictions, the utility of, in reſtricting the tyrannical ſpirit of the feudal ſyſtem, i. 107.

Muſhrooms, plentiful in Ruſſia, ii. 71. Much uſed in diet by the peaſants, *ibid.*

Muſic, vocal, great propenſity of the Ruſſian peaſants to, ii. 74. General ſtile and nature of their ſongs, 75.

N.

Naitza, a wretched village of Lithuania, its miſerable accommodation for travellers, i. 245.

Names given in Ruſſia in honour of ſignal ſervices to the ſovereign, i. 304.

Nanſen, burgomaſter of Copenhagen, his active ſhare in the revolution under Frederic III. of Denmark, v. 119. Prevails on the commons to render the crown hereditary, 120.

Narova, falls of, ii. 237.

Naruſzewicz, biſhop of Smolenſko, his hiſtory of Poland, i. 168. *note.*

Narva, the town, and its trade, deſcribed, ii. 237. Great victory obtained there by Charles XII. over the Ruſſians, 238. Humane conduct of Peter the Great on the capture of the town, 239.

Navy of Denmark, how built, v. 139. Its principal ſtation and regulations, 140. Armament contributed by, to the armed neutrality, 142. Liſt of the Daniſh navy, 258.

Navy of Ruſſia, circumſtantial hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of, ii. 172. Was firſt created by Peter the Great, *ibid.* iii. 287; and improved by the preſent empreſs, *ibid.* Preſent amount of, 289. Circumſtances which impede the improvement of, *ibid.* Liſt of, 387.

Navy of Sweden, account of, iv. 287. Liſt of ſhips commiſſioned at the time of the armed neutrality, 288.

Nerſhinſk, the ſilver mines of, their produce, iii. 362. 368.

Neſtor, the Ruſſian hiſtorian, account of, and of his chronicle, iii. 238.

Nettle, the fibres of, uſed as a ſubſtitute for hemp, ii. 243.

Neva, the floods of, dangerous to the city of Peterſburgh, ii. 107. Great inundation of 1777, 108. Deſcription of a model for a wooden bridge over it, *ibid.* Account of the inventor, 111. Table of the freezing and thawing of, for five ſucceſſive years, 117. *note.* Winter diverſions on, 123. Ice hills, *ibid.* The market on, 127. Ceremony of bleſſing the waters of, 226.

Nicon, patriarch of Ruſſia, his life and character, i. 347. His abdication and auſterities, 357. His chronicle, 358, iii. 242. His degradation, impriſonment, and death, ii. 359.

Niezabad, a Perſian port in the Caſpian Sea, iii. 327.

Nobility, Engliſh and foreign, compariſon between, iv. 107. *note.*

Nobles of Poland formerly exempted from taxes, i. 90. Deſcribed according to the diſtinction of claſſes, i. 102. Their privileges, 103, 211. The elegance of their living, 166.

Nobles of Ruſſia, their ſtate, i. 306, 315. Their hoſpitality, ii. 156. Singular appearance among their retainers, *ibid.* Their diſtinctions and privileges, iii. 136. Precedence only taken from military rank, 136. 138. Military rank derived in ſome caſes from civil offices, 139.

Nobles of Courland, privileges of, ii. 270.

Nobles of Sweden, hoſpitality of, iv. 52, houſe of, 107.

Nobles of Denmark, the imperious conduct of, productive of the revolution under Frederic III. v. 116. Their diviſions favourable to this event, 125. Remarks on their conduct, and its conſequences, 129.

Nordkioping, in Sweden, deſcribed, iv. 314. Its manufactures, *ibid.*

Norway, general view of the hiſtory, geography, and natural hiſtory of, v. 1. Eſtimate of its population, 3. Character of the natives, 4. Military eſtabliſhment, *ibid.* Account of the Norwegian code of laws, 5. The right of inheritance, a privilege poſſeſſed by the proprietors of freeholds, 6. Clothing and diet of the peaſants, 7. Obſervations on the ſeaſons and weather, 9. State of tillage, 10. How ſupplied with corn, 12. Management of cattle, *ibid.* Fiſheries, 13. Advantages derived from the foreſts, 14. General exports of the country, 16. How ſeparated from Sweden, 17. General face of the country, between Kongſteen and Chriſtiania, 23. Prices of cattle, 43. Is infeſted with wolves and bears, 44. Roads, *ibid.* Is exempted from the poll tax, 134. *note.* The military force of, 138.

Novogorod, its magnificent appearance at a diſtance, ii. 77. Its early hiſtory, 78. And commercial conſequence, 79. Is ſubjected by Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. 80. Its great bell removed, 81. Deſcription of the town by Chancellor, 82. Cruel puniſhment of the inhabitants by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. 83. Deſcription of, in its preſent ſtate, 84. Cathedral of St. Sophia, 86. Its paintings, probably the works of Grecian artiſts, 88. Tombs in the cathedral, 90. Rates of proviſions, *ibid.* Its ancient right of coinage, iii. 185.

Novogrodec, in Poland, i. 239.

Nourmahal, an Indian queen, coins of her in the cabinet of the imperial academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, iii. 187.

Nuntios of Poland, their qualifications, i. 74.

Nyborg, on the iſle of Funen, in Denmark, deſcribed, v. 222.

O.

Odell's right, in the Norway cuſtoms, explained, v. 6.
Odenſee, the capital of the iſle of Funen, in Denmark, deſcribed, v. 223. School, 224.
Oeconomical ſociety at Peterſburgh, inſtitution and nature of, iii. 194.
Oeder, Chriſtian, account of his Flora Danica, v. 158. Biographical anecdotes of, 161.
Oehrling, Mr. a learned Laplander, account of, and of his Lexicon Lapponicum, iv. 55. His information concerning Lapland, and its inhabitants, *ibid.*
Oernetz, the retreat of Guſtavus Vaſa in Dalecarlia, deſcribed, v. 71.
Olaus Celſius, his account of the benefactions to the univerſity library at Upſala in Sweden, iv. 172. Patronizes Linnæus, 197.
Olaus Magnus, his account of the place where the ſovereigns of Sweden anciently were elected and enthroned, iv. 189.
Olonetz, produce of the Ruſſian iron works there, iii. 364. The gold mine there given up, 367.
Onega, mine of, iii. 359.
Oranienbaum, palace of, built by prince Mentchikof, ii. 201. Was the early reſidence of the great duke Peter, afterwards Peter III. 207. The citadel and apartments of Peter III. *ibid.* iii. 4. Gallery of pictures, 208. The gardens, *ibid.* The flying mountain, *ibid.*
Orebro, capital of Nerike, in Sweden, deſcribed, iv. 251.
Orichovius, his account of the very limited authority of Sigiſmond I. king of Poland, i. 8.
Orlof, Gregory, the part he took in the revolution of 1762, iii. 21. Account of his firſt intimacy with Catharine II. 41. *note*. His aſcendancy and diſgrace, *ibid.* Becomes inſane and dies, 43. *note*. Account of his ſon by the empreſs, *ibid.* Forms the free œconomical ſociety of St. Peterſburgh, 194.
Orlof, count Alexey, deſcription of his houſe at Moſcow, i. 305. His hoſpitality, *ibid.* His Armenian domeſtic, 306. His ſtud, 308. Preſents an Arabian horſe to Lord Herbert, 310.
Orlof, prince, forms the free œconomical ſociety at Peterſburgh, iii. 194.
Oxen, driven from the Ukraine for the ſupply of Peterſburgh, ii. 66.
Oxenſtiern, count Benedict, character, and anecdotes of, iv. 162.

P.

Pacta conventa, in the Poliſh government, the origin and formation of, i. 10.

Painting, introduced by the Greeks into Italy, ii. 89. And into Ruſſia, *ibid.*

Paintings, the empreſs's collection at Peterſborgh, deſcribed, ii. 142.

Palatines of Poland, their office and power, i. 73.

Palmſtut, Mr. account of his eſtabliſhment of the bank of Stockholm, iv. 130.

Panin, count, receives the abdication of Peter III. iii. 36.

Panin, count, his villa at Mikaulka, deſcribed, i. 312. His hoſpitality, 313. Reduces the rebel Pugatchef, iii. 104.

Paradisberg, mountain ſo called, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 32.

Parus Pendulinus. See *Remiz*.

Patriarchs of Ruſſia, an account of, i. 342.

Paul, great duke of Ruſſia, ſince emperor, his deportment, ii. 130. His tournaments, 148. His acceſſion to the throne of Ruſſia, *ibid.* Removes the remains of his father to the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, 158. *note*. Invites Staniſlaus the abdicated king of Poland to reſide at St. Peterſburgh, i. 180. His ſubſequent neglect of the unfortunate monarch, 187. Attends his funeral, 189. His alterations in the names of the governments, 366. Similarity of his manners and purſuits to thoſe of his father, iii. 4. *note*. His conduct towards Suwarof, 108. *note*.

Pallas, Dr. experiments made by him in Siberia, to aſcertain the difference in heat between animals in their natural, and in their torpid ſtates, ii. 196. His opinion concerning the foſſil bones found in Siberia, iii. 170. His account of the body of a rhinoceros found there, 172. *note*. His deſcription of a large maſs of native iron, found by him in Siberia, 175. Anecdotes of his early life, 203. Is educated for phyſic, 204. His taſte for natural hiſtory, 206. His journey to England, *ibid.* His *Fauna inſectorum Marchica*, 207. His *Elenchus zoophytorum*, 208. His *Miſcellanea zoologica*, 209. His *Spicilegia zoologica*, 210. Is invited to Ruſſia, *ibid.* His travels through the Ruſſian empire, 212. His hiſtory of the Mongul tribes, 216. His various other publications, 217. His *Flora Ruſſica*, 219. The empreſs's bounty to him, and generous purchaſe of his collection of natural hiſtory, 220.

Patronymics, how formed and applied in Ruſſia, ii. 154.

Peaſantry in Poland, their ſlaviſh condition, i. 110. Enfranchiſed in various places, and the good effects reſulting, 114. Favoured by Caſſimir the Great, 136. Of Lithuania, 246.

Peaſantry of Ruſſia, their dreſs and manners, i. 255. 269. 272. ii. 68. Their ſinging, i. 273. ii. 74. Their dwellings, i. 269. 271. Their mode of harneſſing horſes, 273. Their boxing matches, 310. Servility, 392. ii. 70. Cauſes of their hardineſs, ii. 231.

Their

Their preſent ſituation, iii. 135. Their general mode of ſleeping, ii. 68. Images of the ſaints in their houſes, 69. Their political ſituation, iii. 151. Peaſants of the crown, 152. Peaſants who are private property, *ibid.* Authority of their lords, 153. How they obtain their liberty, 157.

Peaſantry of Finland, character of, iv. 129.

Peaſantry of Sweden, their political ſituation, iv. 112. Their manners and occupations, 277. Compared with the Ruſſian peaſantry, 279. 309.

Peaſantry of Norway, v. 5. Their cuſtoms and manners, 6. Their food, 8.

Peaſantry of Denmark, their ſituation, v. 109. Gratitude of thoſe belonging to count Bernſdorf for their emancipation, *ibid.*

Peipus, lake, ii. 240.

Penal laws of Ruſſia, remarks on, iii. 113. State of at the acceſſion of Catharine II. 124. Reform of, 127.

Penal laws of Sweden, iv. 145.

Permanent council of Poland, its reſtrictions on the regal authority, i. 70. *note.*

Perſia, account of the trade with, iii. 319. State of that country after the death of Nadir Shah, 326. *note.*

Perry's deſcription of the erection of the citadel of St. Peterſburgh, ii. 99.

Peter the Great, tzar of Ruſſia, alters the Ruſſian calendar, i. 291. His ſuppoſed expedient to avoid taking Charles XII. of Sweden, priſoner, 293. Where born, 324. Aboliſhes the patriarchal office in Ruſſia, 346. The occaſion of his aſſuming the title of emperor, 367. Negociations on this claim, 368. His journals and papers, 370. Is declared tzar, from the incapacity of his brother Ivan, ii. 24. Mode of his election deſcribed, 25. His brother Ivan aſſociated with him, 30. Was ſubject to epileptic fits, 37. Diſſenſion between him and his ſiſter Sophia, 39. Commits her to priſon, 41. Revolt of the Strelitz, 43. His cruel examination of the revolters by torture, 44. His inveteracy againſt the princeſs Sophia, 46. His motives for transferring the ſeat of empire from Moſcow to Peterſburgh, examined, 96. Firſt commencement of this great undertaking, 99. His orders for regulating the new buildings at Peterſburgh, 101. His equeſtrian ſtatue there, deſcribed, 112. Iſſues regulations for public aſſemblies at Peterſburgh, 155. His tomb in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, 158. His character, *ibid.* Reflections on his treatment of his ſon Alexey, 160. His intention of leaving his

his crown to the princeſs Anne of Holſtein, how diſappointed, 165, *note*. How he acquired his firſt ideas of maritime affairs, 172. His firſt naval atchievements at the ſiege of Azof, 176. Rapid riſe of his navy, *ibid.* iii. 287. His conſecration of the little Grandſire, the firſt boat in which he ſailed, 178. His behaviour on the loſs of the battle of Narva, 239. His humanity on retaking the town, *ibid.* His firſt acquaintance with Catharine, 283. Marries her, *ibid.* He crowns her publicly, 285. Diſcovers her intimacy with her chamberlain, Mons, 286. Remarks on the cauſe of his death, 288, *note*. Did not appoint Catharine to ſucceed him, 289. His declared ſentiments on primogeniture, and its rights, 301. His early prejudice againſt his ſon Alexey, 305. Trial and death of Alexey, 307. Remarks on his conduct in this tranſaction, 314. His note to Count Romanzof, *ibid.* His viſit to Alexey's dying wife, 319. The reports of his reforms in the manners of the Ruſſians exaggerated, iii. 133. His edict againſt beards, 134, *note*. Confers municipal privileges, 147. Founds the academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, 159. The coins of Ruſſia, greatly improved after his travels, 186. His waxen figure in the cabinet of the academy, 187. Literature firſt cultivated by the laity under his reign, 237. His naval eſtabliſhments at Cronſtadt, 284. His meaſures to cultivate a trade over the Caſpian ſea, 322. His attempts to open a commerce through the ſea of Azof, and the Euxine, 337. Forms the canal of Viſhnei Voloſhok, 369.

Peter II. the laſt tzar of the houſe of Romanof, ſhort account of his reign, i. 339.

Peter III. chuſes the palace of Oranienbaum for his reſidence, ii. 206. Named ſucceſſor to the Ruſſian empire by Elizabeth, iii. 2. His marriage and early character, *ibid.* His military exerciſes, 3. Excites the jealouſy of Elizabeth, 5. His conduct on his acceſſion, 8. His interior adminiſtration, 9. His rage for reformation, 10. Irritates the clergy, ii. 382. Offends the army and nobility, ii. 383. His weak admiration of the king of Pruſſia, iii. 12. Receives prudent advice from that monarch, *ibid.* His intention to divorce and arreſt his conſort, 17. Builds apartments at Schlelſſelburgh to confine her, ii. 216. His interview with Ivan, *ibid.* Narrative of the revolution, iii. 17. His imprudent confidence during the formation of the conſpiracy, which drove him from the throne, 18, 26. His ſubſequent alarm and irreſolution, 28, 32, *note*. Endeavours to take refuge in Cronſtadt, 30, 380. Returns to Oranienbaum, 32. Offers to reſign the crown, 34, 380. Arreſted, 35. His abdication, 36, 378. Conveyed to Robſcha, 37. His death, 38. His remains removed by

Paul, and interred with thoſe of Catharine, in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, ii. 158, *note*.

Peterhof, palace and gardens of, deſcribed, ii. 209. Monplaiſir, the favourite retreat of Peter the Great, 211. The furnitnre, 212.

Peterſburgh, ſuperior cultivation of the country in the neighbouthood of, ii. 94. Its geographical and local ſituation, 95. Its diviſions, *ibid.* Inquiry into the motives for removing the ſeat of emplre from Moſcow to this city, 96. The preſent political conſequence of Ruſſia, owing to this new capital, 97. Its effects on the civilization of the people, 99. Firſt ſteps towards building the city, *ibid.* Orders of Peter the Great for regulating the new buildings, 101. The greateſt improvements of the city owing to the late empreſs Catharine, 102. The houſes ſtuccoed to reſemble ſtone, 103. The marble palace, *ibid.* The views upon the banks of the Neva, 104. The canals of Catharine, and the Fontanka, 104. Population of the city, 106. The city expoſed to dangerous inundations, 107. Inundation of 1777, *ibid.* Bridge of the Neva, *ibid.* The equeſtrian ſtatue of Peter the Great, 112. Account of the granite rock which forms the pedeſtal, 114. Journal of weather there in the winter, 117. Winter dreſs of the inhabitants, 121. Winter diverſions, 123. Ice hills, *ibid.* Market, 127. The empreſs's court, 128. Orders of knighthood, 136. Hoſpitality of the Ruſſian nobility, 150. Their mode of living, 151. Genteel modes of ſalutation there, 153. Manner of living among the Engliſh merchants there, 156. The fortreſs deſcribed, 157. Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, *ibid.* Tombs of the ſovereigns interred there, 158. The arſenal, 171. The mint, *ibid.* Remarks on the coin, 172. Bleſſing of the waters, 222. Singular entertainment given to the populace, 224. The academy, iii. 129. Hiſtory of the academy of ſciences, 159. Library of, 166. Muſeum and cabinets of, 167. Hiſtory and deſcription of the academy of arts, 191. The free œconomical ſociety, 194. Seminary for the corps de cadets, 196. Le couvent des demoiſelles nobles, 199. The admiralty, 283. General view of the trade, 306. Amount of imports and exports in 1777, 306. Route from, to Stockholm, iv. 10.

Petrofsk, fortreſs of, on the black ſea, its ſituation, and advantage to the Ruſſians, iii. 345.

Philaretes, patriarch of Ruſſia, and founder of the houſe of Romanof, ſome account of, i. 343. His ſpiritedr eply to Sigiſmond III. king of Poland, 344. His ſon Michael: hoſen tzar, 345. His death, 346.

Philipſtadt, in Sweden, deſcribed, v. 52.

Piaſt, king of Poland, the hiſtory of, fabulous, i 3.

Pilgren, his narrative of circumſtances attending the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, iv. 76.

Plica Polonica, this diſorder deſcribed, with its cauſes, i. 247.

Ploen, lake, and town of, deſcribed, v. 243.

Płotſko, biſhop of, the king of Poland's brother, deſcription of his palace, i. 170.

Poets of Ruſſia, biographical anecdotes of, with an account of their works, iii. 252.

Poland, the hiſtory of that country well detailed by a ſucceſſion of hiſtorians, i. 2. The claſſes under which its ſovereigns are arranged, *ibid.* The authenticity of Poliſh annals not to be traced higher than Miciſlaus II. 3. The power of the ſovereign, and the ſucceſſion to the crown, how limited during the ſecond period of the monarchy, 4. Caſſimir the Great, *ibid.* Louis king of Hungary, 5. Ladiſlaus Jaghellon, 6. Ladiſlaus III. *ibid.* Caſimir III. *ibid.* His reign conſidered as the æra of the eſtabliſhment of the Poliſh conſtitution, 7. John Albert, *ibid.* Alexander, 8. The moſt perfect ſtate of the Poliſh conſtitution under the reign of Sigiſmond I. 9. The crown made elective under Sigiſmond Auguſtus, *ibid.* Eſtabliſhment of the Pacta Conventa, 10. Henry of Valois, *ibid.* Stephen Bathori, 11. The king deprived of the ſupreme juriſdiction, *ibid.* The Liberum Veto firſt introduced under John Caſimir, 12. General view of the revolutions in the conſtitution of Poland, *ibid.* The preſent ſtate of Poliſh freedom compared with that enjoyed under the Jaghellon princes, 14. Genealogical tables of the kings, 17. Election of Staniſlaus Auguſtus. 20. His good intentions thwarted by the turbulence of factions, 23. Hiſtory of the Diſſidents, 24. Perſecution of the Arians, 26; and of the Diſſidents, 27. Origin of the confederacies, 29. Is diſtracted by commotions, 36. Attempt to aſſaſſinate the king, 38. Plan and progreſs of the partition of Poland, by Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Germany, 50. Its weakneſs the reſult of its political conſtitution, 52. The partition of, firſt projected by the late King of Pruſſia, *ibid.* The progreſſive ſteps by which this meaſure was effected, 53. The firſt notification of the reſpective pretenſions, 56. State of the diſmembered provinces, 61. Alterations in the Poliſh conſtitution, effected by the partitioning powers, 67. The government of Poland deſcribed, 71. Account of the diet and its conſtituent parts, *ibid.* The king, 72. The ſecond eſtate or ſenate, 73. The third eſtate or equeſtrian order, 74. Origin of the Liberum Veto, 78. Forms of the diet of election, 84. Account of the finances and taxes of Poland, 88, 92, *note*. Its com-

merce, *ibid.* Checks upon its commerce, 93. The country well adapted to the growth of corn, 94. Hints for the extenſion of its trade, 95. The military eſtabliſhment, 96. The nature of the Poliſh confederacies explained, *ibid.* Great influence of Ruſſia over this kingdom, 58, *note*, 99 174, *note*. Wretched ſtate of the country, 100. The ſeveral claſſes of the inhabitants, 102. The nobles, 103. The clergy and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, 105. The burghers, 107. The feudal inſtitutions greatly abridged by the municipal privileges granted to cities, *ibid.* Slaviſh condition of the peaſants, 110. Happy conſequences that have reſulted where they have been enfranchiſed, 114. Account of the Jewiſh inhabitants, 118. Population of the country, 120; and of the diſtricts on the firſt diſmemberment, *ibid, note.* The feudal ſyſtem traced in all parts of the conſtitution, *ibid.* The limits of the Auſtrian diſtrict, how extended, 122. The kings always to be crowned at Cracow, 128. Funeral ceremony of the kings, 133. Dreſs and manners of the Poles, 147. Appearance of the country, 153, 215, 220. The elegance and politeneſs of the nobility, 166. Recent alterations in the political circumſtances of this country, 177. Poliſh coins, 207. General ſtate of literature, 209. State of the priſons, 210. Torture aboliſhed, *ibid.* Defects of the police, 211. Laws reſpecting debtors, 214.

Poland, Auſtrian, the limits of, how defined, i. 122. Number of inhabitants, 123.

Poland, Ruſſian, its boundaries and contents, i. 251.

Polar Star, order of knighthood in Sweden, the two claſſes of, iv. 234, *note*.

Polhem, the Swediſh engineer, his plan for rendering the cataracts of Trolhætta navigable, iv. 254. Failures of his plan, 261, 265.

Poll Tax of Ruſſia conſidered as a mark of vaſſalage, iii. 151, *note*. The population of the empire eſtimated from, 274. Complicated mode of impoſing this tax, 277. Only levied on the burghers and peaſants, 278. Rates of, in Sweden, iv. 126, *note*. Of Denmark, v. 134, *note*.

Pomerania, Revenue of, iv. 130.

Pomatowſki, prince, brother to the king of Poland, his villa deſcribed, i. 162.

Population of the empire of Ruſſia, eſtimated from the poll-tax, iii. 274. Of the new acquiſitions, 276, *note*. Of Sweden, computed from the regiſters of the Tabell commiſſion, iv. 119. Of the Daniſh dominions, v. 133.

Potemkin, prince, account of his life and character, ii. 367. His influence over the empreſs, 363. His patronage of Greek literature, iii. 273.

Povinſki, the villa of prince Adam Zartoriſki, deſcribed, i. 166.
Premiſlaus, the firſt ſovereign of Poland who aſſumed the regal title, i. 128.
Printing, Ruſſian ſpecimen of, i. 372.
Priſons, remarks reſpecting thoſe in Poland, i. 210. Queries relating to the priſons in Ruſſia, with anſwers to them, dictated by the late empreſs, iii. 120. Intended plan for the reform of, 123.
Prokopovitch. See *Theophanes*.
Proviſions, rates of, at Novogorod, ii. 90. At Peterſburgh, 127.
Pruſſia, formerly poſſeſſed by the Teutonic knights, when firſt raiſed to the rank of a kingdom, i. 51, *note*. Eaſtern Pruſſia given to Albert of Brandenburg, *ibid*. The partition of Poland firſt projected by Frederic II. 52.
Pruth, the peace of, between Peter the Great and the Turks, aſcribed to the prudence of his empreſs Catharine, ii. 284.
Pugatchef, Yemelka, a Coſſack, aſſumes the name and character of the emperor Peter III. iii. 93. Is received and acknowledged by the Coſſacks of the Yaik, 94. Beſieges Orenburg, 93. Anecdote, which ſhews the attachment of the people to his cauſe, 99. His impolitic cruelty, 100. Experiences ſeveral defeats, 101. His motive for maſſacring all German officers, *ibid*. Murders the aſtronomer Lowitz, 103. Is finally defeated by Colonel Michaelſon, 104. Delivered up by his followers, and executed, 105.
Pulaſki, a Poliſh nobleman, plans the aſſaſſination of Staniſlaus Auguſtus, i. 38. Killed in America, 49.
Pulteney, Dr. his account of the Amœnitates Academicæ of the univerſity of Upſala, iv. 171. His account of the Furia Infernalis, 195, *note*. Character of his view of the writings of Linnæus, 219. His remarks on the writings of Wallerius, Cronſted, and Bergman, 220. His account of Dr. Retzius of Lund, 299. Of the Flora Danica and its author, v. 158.

Q.

Quartz, account of the mines of, at Skuterud in Norway, v. 37.
Quaſs, the uſual beverage of the Ruſſian peaſants, how prepared, ii. 71.
Quickſilver, its congelation by extreme degree of cold, demonſtrated by the experiments of Dr. Guthrie of Peterſburgh, ii. 180. Is, in its uſual form, only a melted metal, 182. Deſcription of the freezing apparatus, 185. Experiments to determine its freezing point by the thermometer, 186. Its malleability, 188. Inferences from the experiments, 191. Account of freezing mixtures made uſe of, 195.

R.

Rands-Sion lake, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 42.

Rain, average quantity of for one year, at Petersburgh, compared with that at London, ii. 116, *note*.

Ratzeburgh, town, and lake of, v. 246.

Razomouſki, count, hetman of the Ukraine, his villa near Moſcow, i. 314.

Regenfuſs, Michael; his curious body of conchology, v. 163.

Rein-deer, of Lapland, account of, and their mode of treatment, iv. 59.

Remiz, or titmouſe of Lithuania, with its neſt, deſcribed, i. 228.

Rendſburgh, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the Daniſh dominions, deſcribed, v. 238.

Reſhd, on the Caſpian, commerce of, iii. 330.

Retuſari, iſland of, deſcribed, iii. 284.

Retzius, Dr. Andrew John, of Lund, anecdotes of him and his writings, iv. 299.

Revenue of Ruſſia, the ſources of, iii. 277. Has increaſed with the increaſe of civilization, 280. Additional impoſts in time of war, 281. Of Sweden, the ſources, and amount of, iv. 126. Of Denmark, whence it proceeds, v. 134.

Rhinoceros, deſcription of the remains of one found in Siberia, iii. 172.

Rhodolph II. emperor of Germany, patronizes Tycho Brahe, after his diſgrace in Denmark, v. 201.

Riddarholm, church of, tombs of the Swediſh monarchs there, iv. 40.

Riga, the capital of Livonia, deſcribed, ii. 241. Its chief articles of trade, *ibid.* Maſt trade, 242. Hemp, *ibid.* Account of the floating bridge, 245. Table of the annual number of veſſels reſorting to Riga, with the value of their cargoes, 247. General articles of commerce from the port of, iii. 307.

Ringſted in Denmark, its ancient church, and royal tombs in it, v. 220.

Roads in Lithuania, deſcribed, i. 237. In Ruſſia, how formed, ii. 66. In Sweden, v. 50.

Robinſon, biſhop, his character of Charles XI. king of Sweden, iv. 46, *note*.

Rokoz, the general confederacy of Poland, i. 99.

Romanof, account of Michael Feodorovitch, the firſt tzar of Ruſſia, of this houſe, i. 336. Short account of Peter II. the laſt tzar of this houſe, 339. How the royal line of, came by the name, ii. 343.

Roſen, count, ſuppoſed to be the father of Catharine I. ii. 281.

Roſen, profeſſor, procures a prohibition of the lectures read by Linnæus on botany, iv. 199.

Roſkild, the ancient metropolis of Denmark, its preſent ſtate deſcribed, v. 209. Cathedral, *ibid.* Tombs of the ſovereigns of Denmark, 212.

Roſkolniki, or Separatiſts, a ſect in Ruſſia, iii. 94.

Roſtof, archbiſhop of, his character, i. 302.

Rothman, a Swediſh phyſician, the firſt diſcoverer and patron of the genius of Linnæus the botaniſt, iv. 193.

Roubles, when firſt coined in Ruſſia, iii. 185.

Rulhiere, Monſ. his character of Peter III. 4, *note*. Character of his work, 44.

Ruſſia, general deſcription of that part of Poland lately annexed to, i. 251. Cheap rate of poſt-horſes, 252. General conſtruction of the poſt houſes, 253. Style of the churches, 268. Dreſs and manners of the peaſants, 256. 269. 272. Their dwellings, 269. 271. Deſcription of Moſcow, 281. The mode of building wooden houſes, 289. 383. The Ruſſian calendar, 291. Great hoſpitality of the Ruſſians, 293. Their gardens and grounds laid out in the Engliſh ſtile, 312. Churches of Moſcow, 318. Pictures of the ſaints, 319. Great dukes of Moſcow, tributary to the Tartars, 328. Short account of the reign of the tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch, 329; and of ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, 331. General hiſtory of the patriarchate of Moſcow, 342. Archives of Ruſſia, 361. The occaſion of the firſt correſpondence between England and Ruſſia, 362. Titles of the ſovereigns of Ruſſia, 368. The title of emperor firſt claimed by Peter the Great, 369. Inveſtigations of this claim, *ibid.* Neceſſary precautions in travelling in that country, 390. ii. 74. Hiſtory of the tzar Demetrius, ii. 1. Of the princeſs Sophia, half ſiſter to Peter the Great, 20. Remarkable mode of incloſing the villages, 61. Fires frequent in the villages, 62. The cottages deſcribed, 68. Peterſburgh, 96. Deſcription of the weather in autumn, 116. The uſual mode of addreſs among the Ruſſians, 154. Baths, 227. Reign of Peter III. iii. 7. His depoſition and death, 20. Pugatchef's rebellion, 93. Remarks on the penal laws of Ruſſia, 112. Torture aboliſhed, 113. Intended plan for the reformation of the priſons, 123. The new code of laws, 127. New diſtribution of the governments, ibid. ii. 337. Eſtabliſhment of provincial ſchools, iii. 129. The boaſted civilization of the Ruſſians only found among the ſuperior ranks, 133. The claſſes under which the people may be ranged, 135. The nobles, *ibid.* The clergy, 140. Merchants, burghers, &c. 146. The man-

per in which they keep their accounts, 150. Peaſants, 151. Imperial academy of ſciences, 159. Its reſearches into the productions, languages, &c. of the country, 162. Coins of Ruſſia, 183. Academy of arts, 191. Account of the Sclavonian language and alphabet, 229. The ſlow progreſs of the Ruſſians in arts and ſciences imputed to wrong cauſes, 193. 233. Oeconomical ſociety, 194. View of Ruſſian literature, 235. Hiſtorians, 237. 256. Poets, 252. 266. Hiſtory of the Ruſſian ſtage, 257. Tranſlations into the Ruſſian language, 271. Eſtimate of the population of the empire, from the poll-tax, 274. Of the new acquiſitions, 276, *note*. Sources of the imperial revenues, 277. Increaſe ſince the time of Peter the Great, 280. Expences of government, *ibid.* Bank of aſſignation, 281. Marine academy, 287. Navy, *ibid.* Circumſtances which obſtruct the improvement of the Ruſſian navy, 289. The army, 292. Riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh trade to Ruſſia, 298. Account of the mode in which it is carried on, 308. Trade on the Caſpian ſea, 318. Commerce with the Bucharians and Chineſe, 334. Attempts to eſtabliſh a trade through the ſea of Azoph and the Euxine, 336. Traffic on the Turkiſh ſeas before the peace of 1774, how conducted, 339. Ports and territory ceded to Ruſſia, 344. Account of the mines, 359. Inland navigations, 369.

Ruſſian company in England, when firſt eſtabliſhed, iii. 298. Privileges granted to by the tzar Ivan Vaſſilevitch II. 299. Firſt exports and imports of, *ibid.* Hiſtorical view of the intercourſe with Ruſſia, 300. Preſent ſtate of the Britiſh trade with Peterſburgh, 306.

Ruyſch, Mr. account of his anatomical cabinet bought by Peter the Great, iii. 176.

S.

Sailors, cauſes which prevent the increaſe of, in Ruſſia, iii. 291.

Sainovits, his account of the ſimilarity of the Lapland language with the Hungarian, iv. 61.

Salt Mines, thoſe at Wielitſka, deſcribed, i. 149.

Salutation, mode of, among the Ruſſian peaſants, ii. 70. Among perſons of gentility, 133.

Sarniſki, his opinion of the elective freedom in the choice of kings of Poland, i. 13.

Saw, difficulty of introducing the uſe of, among the Ruſſian ſhipwrights and carpenters, ii. 54.

Saw-mills, at Fredericshall in Norway, number of, v. 17. At Chriſtiania, 28.

Saxe, marſhal, how elected duke, and diſpoſſeſſed of the dutchy of Courland, ii. 251.

Saxo Grammaticus, account of his hiſtory of Hamlet, prince of Denmark, v. 90. Account of, and character of his hiſtory of Denmark, 219.

Scalds, Iceland bards, account of their compoſitions, v. 150.

Scavronſki, the ſuppoſed relationſhip of Catharine I. of Ruſſia, to the family of, examined, ii. 278, *note*.

Schaub, Sir Luke, his account of the negociations, on allowing the tzar of Ruſſia to aſſume the imperial title and ſtile, i. 369, *note*. Extracts from his ſtate papers reſpecting the ſteps taken by Peter the Great toward ſettling his crown upon his daughter Anne, ii. 164, *note*.

Scheele, Charles William, the experimental chemiſt, biographical memoirs, and character of, v. 53.

Schlina canal formed to unite it with the Tvertza, iii. 369.

Schloetzer, his account of the privileges of military rank in Ruſſia, iii. 139. His character of Neſtor's chronicle, 239, *note*.

Schluſſelburgh, origin of the fortreſs of, ii. 213. Is taken from the Swedes by prince Galitzin, 214. Converted to a ſtate priſon, 215. Deſcription of the iſland and building, *ibid*. Apartments there prepared by Peter III. for Catharine his wife, 216. Account of priſoners who have been confined there, 217. Account of the place where Ivan was confined, iii. 49.

Schmidt, his compilation the moſt authentic account of Catharine I. ii. 280.

Schoening, account of, v. 149, *note*. His travels, 164.

Sciagraphia Mineralis, of profeſſor Bergman, abſtract of, iv. 359.

Sclavonian alphabet, the origin of, iii. 229. The characters principally derived from the Greek, *ibid*. Books printed in them, 231. Account of the language and its dialects, 232.

Secret council of Ruſſia aboliſhed by Peter III. deſcription of, iii. 9, *note*.

Senate of Sweden aboliſhed, iv. 105.

Sepulchral ornaments found in Siberia, iii. 177.

Seraphim, order of knighthood in Sweden, an account of, iv. 234, *note*.

Sergell, Mr. the Swediſh ſtatuary, his character and performances, iv. 69.

Setcha, or principal ſettlement of the Zaporogian Coſſacs, deſcribed, iii. 346. Is reduced by the Ruſſians, 349.

Shaffirof, vice chancellor to Peter the Great, his agency in procuring the peace of Pruth, ii. 284.

Sheep of Aſtrican, i. 306.

Shamakee, the capital of the province of Shirvan, its trade, iii. 328.
Sherebatof, prince, his account of the Tartarian cycle, adopted by the antient Ruſſians, iii. 183. His other works, 249. Character of his Ruſſian hiſtory, *ibid.*
Sheridan, Mr. his account of the exorbitant authority veſted in the ſtates of Sweden, iv. 93, *note.* Character of his hiſtory of the late revolution in that country, 96. His comparative view of Engliſh and foreign nobility, 107, *note.*
Siberia, how felons are conveyed thither, and employed, iii. 112. Foſſil remains of animals from, in the muſeum of the imperial academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, 169. Deſcription of the remains of a rhinoceros found there, 172. Deſcription of a large maſs of native iron brought from thence, 174. Sepulchral ornaments found there, 177.
Sicinſki, the author of the Liberum Veto, in the diet of Poland, i. 78.
Sigiſmond, emperor, ſon-in-law of Louis king of Poland, is ſet aſide from the ſucceſſion, i. 5.
Sigiſmond I. king of Poland, ſtate of the conſtitution under his reign, i. 8. His character, 138.
Sigiſmond III. brief ſketch of his reign, i. 139.
Sigiſmond Auguſtus, king of Poland, the crown declared elective under his reign, i. 9. Was the laſt of the Jaghellon line, *ibid.* His indulgence to the Diſſidents, 24. His ſcheme for opening a corn trade with Turkey, how defeated, 95. Granted univerſal toleration, and protected learned men, 127. Was the laſt ſovereign under whom the nation enjoyed tranquillity, 139.
Sigrebit, mother of Diveke, miſtreſs of Chriſtian II. king of Denmark, her extraordinary aſcendancy over him, v. 228, *note.*
Sinope, a port of the Black Sea, from whence the goats hair uſed in the manufacture of camlets, is brought. iii. 342.
Siquier, an officer ſuſpected of the aſſaſſination of Charles XII. iv. 82.
Skuterud, in Norway, its mines of cobalt, and quartz, v. 37.
Skydſord, village of, v. 24.
Slagelbec, Nicholas, favourite of Chriſtian II. of Denmark, his dreadful death, v. 228, *note.*
Sledges, deſcription of thoſe uſed in travelling through Ruſſia, iv. 2.
Sleſwic, or South Jutland, dutchy of, deſcribed, v. 235.
Slovoda, village of, i. 266.
Smirnove, Mr. his account of the diviſion of the Ruſſian empire, ii. 364.
Smoland, in Sweden, general account of the province, and ſtate of agriculture there, iv. 307. Deſcription of Jonkioping, its capital, 310.

Smolensko, its viciſſitudes until finally ceded to Ruſſia, i. 256. Deſcription of the town, 257. Its cathedral, 258, 260. Kind hoſpitality of the biſhop, and a Ruſſian judge, 261, 263. Seminary for the clergy, *ibid.*

Smolensko, Naruſzewicz, biſhop of, account of his intended hiſtory of Poland, i. 163, *note.*

Smolewitz, i. 242.

Snorro Sturleſon, his account of the Icelandic odes, v. 151, *note.* Anecdotes of him and his character, 156.

Sobieski, Alexander, ſon of John, king of Poland, his hiſtory, i. 208.

Sobieski, Conſtantine, ſon of John, king of Poland, his hiſtory, i. 209.

Sobieski, James Louis, the ſon of John, king of Poland, prevented from being elected to ſucceed his father, by the intrigues of his mother, i. 196. His ſubſequent hiſtory, 200.

Sobieski, John, king of Poland, ſaves the houſe of Auſtria, i. 52, *note.* Favours the Jews, i. 119. His character contraſted with that of Charles XII. of Sweden, 143. Deſcription of Villanow, his favourite palace, 190. His political character, 191. His domeſtic misfortunes, 192. Incidents at his death, 193. Hiſtory of his family after his deceaſe, 196. Genealogical table of his family, i. 206.

Solario, a Milaneſe architect, conſtructs the Kremlin of Moſcow, i. 284; and of Novogorod, ii. 86.

Solmes, count, the Pruſſian envoy, furniſhes the author with an account of the revolution of 1762, iii. 44.

Solomon, prince of Imeretia, driven from his dominions by the Turks, and reſtored by the Ruſſians, iii. 226, *note.* His manners deſcribed, *ibid.* His kindneſs to profeſſor Guldenſtaedt, *ibid.*

Sophia, a Grecian princeſs, married to the tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch, i. 331.

Sophia Alexiefna, half ſiſter to Peter the Great of Ruſſia, a review of thoſe writers who have treated her name injuriouſly, ii. 20, *note.* Her birth and parentage, 21. Her great ſhare in the adminiſtration of government during the reign of her brother Feodor, 23. The exerciſe of government intruſted to her under the joint tzars Ivan and Peter, 31. Scrutiny into her conduct at this juncture, 32. Her perſon and character, as deſcribed by ſeveral writers, 34, *note.* Calumnies raiſed againſt her, 36. Circumſtances which contributed to her fall, 39. Is impriſoned, 41. Reflections on her fate, *ibid.* Endeavours uſed to implicate her

in a conſpiracy, 43. Peter's inveteracy againſt her, 46. Her death, 47. Her patronage of learning, 48.

Sophia Amelia, wife of Frederic III. king of Denmark, her courage during the ſiege of Copenhagen by the Swedes, v. 114. Takes an active part in the ſubſeqent revolution, 120.

Sophia, St. cathedral of, at Novogorod, deſcribed, ii. 86.

Sound, the paſſage of, v. 84. How guarded by the fortreſs of Cronborg, v. 85. Rates and produce of the toll paid there, 86. Number of veſſels that paſs through in a year, 135, *note*.

South, Dr. his character of John Sobieſki, king of Poland, i. 191, *note*.

Sparwenfeldt, his collection of MSS. preſerved in the library at Upſala, iv. 173.

Spree, iſland of, in Denmark, deſcribed, v. 222.

Stackelberg, count, the Ruſſian ambaſſador, his conduct towards the biſhop of Cracow, i. 32, *note*. His menaces to procure the ſignature of Staniſlaus Auguſtus to the treaty of partition, 58, *note*. His remarks on the venality of the Poles, 60, *note*. Procures a ſum from the diet for the payment of the king's debts, i. 174, *note*.

Staehlin, his account of the Ruſſian muſic, ii. 74; and of the dramatic repreſentations in his time, iii. 258. Furniſhes the author with anecdotes of the revolution of 1762, ii. 44.

Stage, hiſtory of, in Ruſſia, iii. 257.

Staniſlaus Auguſtus, count Poniatowſki, his election to the crown of Poland, i. 20. Account of his early life, and the cauſes of his advancement, *ibid. note*. His good intentions thwarted by faction, 23. Is unable to mitigate the ſeverity of the diet againſt the Diſſidents, 28. Hardſhips to which he was expoſed by theſe diſtractions, 35. Attempt to aſſaſſinate him, 38. Returns to Warſaw, 46. Mitigates the puniſhment of the conſpirators, 49. Diſmemberment of his dominions by Pruſſia, Auſtria, and Ruſſia, 57. Final diſmemberment, *ibid. note*. His repugnance to ſign the treaty of diſmemberment, 58, *note*. Anecdote on that ſubject, *ibid.* Intimidated by the menaces of the Ruſſian embaſſador, *ibid.* His power in the diet, and abilities as an orator, 72. His revenue, 91. His remarks on the licentiouſneſs of his countrymen, 101. His perſon and dreſs deſcribed, 157. Was the firſt king who did not adopt the Poliſh dreſs, 158. His partiality to England and Engliſh literature, 161. 185. His literary acquirements, and patronage of literature, 159. 173, 209. His remarks on priſons, 171. On his eſtabliſhments at Grodno, *ibid.* Anecdote relating to his dependance on Ruſſia, i. 174, *note*. His intereſting converſation with the author on the firſt partition,

partition, 175, *note*. His abdication, and reſidence at Grodno and St. Peterſburgh, 180. His occupations and amuſements, 182. Neglected and inſulted by Paul I. 187. His death and funeral, 188.

Staniſlaus, prince, nephew to the king of Poland, his liberality and kind attention to his peaſants, i. 117.

Staniſlaus Lubienski, biſhop of Plotſko, his idea of Poliſh freedom, i. 13.

Staroſties of Poland, an account of, and their taxation, i. 89.

States of Sweden, their power eſtabliſhed under Frederic I. iv. 93, *note*. Inveſted with the direction of the bank of Stockholm, 132.

Steen, village of, in Norway, deſcribed, v. 41.

Steiknitz, canal of, to unite the Elbe and the Trave, v. 247.

Stephen Bathori, king of Poland, the regal power abridged under his reign, i. 11. His character, 139.

Sterlet, a peculiar ſpecies of ſturgeon in the northern latitudes, deſcribed, ii. 57.

Steernberg, the obſervatory of Tycho Brahe, iv. 197.

Stillingfleet, his account of the general mode of life of the Laplanders, iv. 60, *note*. His eulogium of the univerſity of Upſala, 170.

Stobæus teaches Linnæus the principles of natural hiſtory, iv. 194.

Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, route from Peterſburgh to, in ſummer and in winter. iv. 10. Its foundation, 33. General deſcription of the city, *ibid*. The palace, 34. The king's levee, 35. The court dreſs, *ibid*. Strict etiquette of the court, 37. State of weather there, 52. The royal Swediſh academy, 53. Regulations of, 54. Its publications, *ibid*. The opera houſe, 69. Royal academy of painting and ſculpture, 71. The arſenal, 72. The bank, 131. Hiſtory of this bank, *ibid*. Regulations, 135.

Stones, account of thoſe circular ranges of, ſo frequent in Sweden and Denmark, v. 248.

Stonehenge, on Saliſbury plain, various conjectures relating to its erection, v. 251. *note*.

Storch, remarks on his eſtimation of the population of Ruſſia, iii. 276, *note*.

Strægnetz, on the banks of the Mæler, in Sweden, deſcribed, iv. 319. Cathedral, *ibid*.

Strawenſki, one of the perſons who attempted to aſſaſſinate Staniſlaus Auguſtus, i. 38. Beheaded, 49.

Strelitz guards, revolt of, under the tzar Feodor, ii. 28. Murder their general, prince Dolgorucki, and maſſacre the inhabitants of Moſcow for three days, 29. Occaſion of this inſurrection, 32. A ſecond revolt, 40. A revolt of them againſt Peter the Great, ſuppreſſed by general Gordon, 43.

Stroemſholm, a palace of the king of Sweden, deſcribed, v. 57. The canal of, 58.

Struenſee, count, his impriſonment and execution, deſcribed, v. 107.

Stucco, a durable kind of, how made in Denmark, v. 186.

Stukeley, Dr. his opinion of Stonehenge, v. 252, *note*.

Sture, the family of, in Sweden, unhappy fate of, iv. 154. Inſcription on their monument at Upſala, 161. Sepulchre of Steno Sture, at Strægnetz, 319.

Sture Svanto, the place of his confinement at Upſala, iv. 151.

Svane, biſhop of Zealand, his active ſhare in the revolution under Frederic III. of Denmark, v. 119. Propoſes to render the crown hereditary, 120. Preſents a remonſtrance againſt the nobles to the king, 121.

Sveaborg, fortreſs of, in Swediſh Finland, deſcription of, iv. 13. The harbour and docks, 16.

Suhm, Mr. of Copenhagen, his valuable library, v. 166. His character and writings, 167.

Sumorokof, Alexander, the Ruſſian poet, his general character, iii. 256. Is appointed director of the theatre at Peterſburgh, 260. His tribute to the memory of Feodor Volkof, the actor, 261. Anecdotes of his life, 262. Account and character of his compoſitions, 264. His preferments and character, 267.

Suwarof, general, account of, 105, *note*. Anecdotes of his diſgrace and death, *ibid*.

Sweden, how divided from the empire of Ruſſia by the peace of Abo, iv. 8. Face of the country, 31. The court dreſs, 35. Account of the preſent royal family, 39. Character of the Swediſh nobility, 52. Its univerſities and ſeminaries, 54. Account of Lapland, and its inhabitants, 55. Hiſtory of the Swediſh conſtitution, 91. Union of Calmar, *ibid*. Aſcendancy of the ariſtocratic party under Chriſtina, 92. Limitations of the prerogative under Ulrica Eleonora, and her huſband Frederic, 93. The alteration effected by the late revolution, miſconceived, 97. View of the preſent frame of government, *ibid*. Bickerings between the king and the ſtates, 100. Remarks on the regal power, 101. Abolition of the ſenate, 106. Conſtituent parts of the diet, 107. The nobles, 108. The religion and clergy, 110, *note*. Citizens, 113. The peaſants, *ibid*. State of the country gentlemen, 115. Forms of proceeding in the diet, 116. The population, why eaſily aſcertained, 119. The population computed from the regiſters of the Tabell commiſſion, 120. Tables of the commerce of Sweden, 124. Sources, and amount of the revenue, 126. Expenditure of government, 127. Bank of Stockholm, 131. Diſtreſſes ariſing from the ſcarcity of gold and ſilver

ſilver coin, 139. Computation of money, 141, *note.* Military eſtabliſhment, *ibid.* The militia, *ibid.* Land appointed for their ſubſiſtence, 142. Army, 145. Penal laws, and courts of juſtice, *ibid.* Juries, 146. Modes of executing criminals, 147. Genealogical table of kings of the houſe of Vaſa, 186. Mines, 183. Orders of knighthood in, 232, *note.* General face of the country, 236. Eaſt India Company, 271. Herring fiſhery at Gotheborg, 272. Manners, &c. of the peaſants, 277. Huſbandry, 280. State of the navy, 287. Mode of travelling in Sweden, 290. Price and regulation of the poſts, 291. The roads, 292, v. 50. Gentlemen's ſeats, *ibid.* Affinity of the Swediſh language with the Engliſh, 293. General mode of building, 310. Articles of the new form of government eſtabliſhed by the late revolution, 327. Table of the exports and imports of Sweden, 351. General account of the lakes in, v. 51.

Sweyn II. king of Denmark, his hiſtory, v. 211. His character and family, 212.

Sword, order of knighthood in Sweden, the three claſſes of, iv. 234, *note.*

Sylveſter, biſhop, the Ruſſian hiſtorian, account of, and of his chronicle, iii. 240.

T.

Tabell commiſſion, in Sweden, purpoſe of its inſtitution, iv. 119. Computations as to the population of Sweden, drawn from its regiſters, 120.

Taberg, in Smaland, a mountain of rich iron ore, account of, iv. 184, *note.*

Tabluka, a village in Ruſſia, i. 271.

Taganroc, port of, in the Black Sea, iii. 344.

Taliezin, admiral, ſecures Cronſtadt for the empreſs at the revolution, iii. 30.

Taman, a port of the Black Sea, deſcribed, iii. 341.

Tartarian Cycle, adopted by the Ruſſians, iii. 183.

Tatiſchef, account of his hiſtory of Ruſſia, iii. 247.

Taurida. See *Crimea.*

Tchekin, one of the officers who killed Ivan on the attempt of Mirovitch to releaſe him, iii. 57.

Tcherkaſh, the capital of the Don Coſſacs, originally the centre of the Ruſſian commerce with Tartary, iii. 339.

Tchernichef, an impoſtor, who aſſumed the name of Peter III. His execution, iii. 91.

Tchudof, a convent, where Vaſili Shuiſki was confined, i. 325.

Teflis, capital of Georgia, account of, iii. 225.

Teſſin, count, patroniſes Linnæus, iv. 205.

Teutonic knights, original proprietors of Pruſſia, i. 51, *note*. Compelled by Caſimir the Great to cede Culm and Cujavia, 135.

Theodoſia, a port of the Black Sea, iii. 340.

Theophanes Procopovtch, the Ruſſian hiſtorian, and Archbiſhop of Novorogod, anecdotes of, iii. 243. His writings, 244. His eccleſiaſtical character, *ibid.* His efforts to ſecure the acceſſion of Catherine I. on the death of Peter the Great, ii. 294.

Thereſa Cunegunda, daughter of John Sobieſki, i. 204.

Thermometer, obſervations on, during winter, at Peterſburgh, ii. 119, *note*. Its accuracy not affected the experiments on the congelation of mercury by cold, 184.

Thor, image of the Saxon god, at Upſala, iv. 163.

Thorwaldus introduces the Chriſtian religion into Iceland, v. 152, *note*.

Thott, count, his curious library at Copenhagen, v. 166.

Tingwalla iſland, in Sweden, deſcribed, v. 52.

Tiſtedal, village of, in Norway, its agreeable ſituation, v. 21.

Titerud, beautiful ſituation of that village, in Norway, v. 45.

Tolitzin, village of, in Ruſſia, i. 251.

Tolſtoi, prince, managed the proceſs againſt the tzarovitch Alexey, 313.

Took, Mr. remarks on his erroneous ſtatement of the population of Ruſſia, iii. 276, *note*. His account of the revenue of Ruſſia, 280, *note*. Account of the Ruſſian fleet in the Black Sea, 288.

Tooptalo, metropolitan of Ruſſia, account of his Scriptural pieces, iii. 257.

Torſhok, a village on the banks of the Tvertza, ii. 59.

Torture, aboliſhed in Poland, by the influence of king Staniſlaus Auguſtus i. 210. And in Ruſſia by the empreſs Catharine II. iii. 113. In Sweden by Guſtavus III. iv. 148.

Tournament, of the great duke of Ruſſia, deſcribed, ii. 148.

Trade between England and Ruſſia, hiſtory of, iii. 297. Its amount, 306. Account of the mode in which the Engliſh trade is carried on with the Ruſſians, 308. Trade of the Caſpian, hiſtory of, 318.

Travemunde, the port of, deſcribed, v. 246.

Treaſon, how puniſhed in Ruſſia, under Elizabeth, iii. 118.

Treſchow, profeſſor, his liberal patronage of the ſchools for the children of poor nobility and gentry, at Copenhagen, v. 148.

Tribunitia Regni, courts eſtabliſhed in Poland, i. 11.

Troitſkoi Kloſter, or monaſtery of the Holy Trinity, near Moſcow, excurſion to, and deſcription of, i. 389.

Trolhætta, Village of, iv. 252. Canal of, motive of its conſtruction, 253. Was undertaken by Charles XII. 254. Plan of, 255.

The

The cataracts, 258. Progreſs of the works, 259. Navigation of, 264. Scenery of the country to Gotheborg, 267.

Tver, capital of a dutchy of the ſame name, its origin and hiſtory, ii. 51. Is deſtroyed by fire, and elegantly rebuilt, 53. Its academical inſtitutions, 53. Its trade, *ibid.* The firſt province in which the new code of laws was introduced, ii. 54. Its rapid increaſe in population, *ibid.* The ſurrounding country, and its productions, 56.

Tvertza, and the Schlina works formed by Peter the Great, to connect theſe rivers, iii. 369.

Tycho Brahe, the Daniſh aſtronomer, his farm houſe on the iſle of Huen, v. 190. Biographical memoirs of him, 191. His early propenſity to aſtronomy, *ibid.* Studies alchemy, 194. His marriage, *ibid.* His preferments, 197. His mode of life, 198. Is viſited by King James I. while king of Scotland, 199. And by Chriſtian IV. of Denmark, 200. His diſgrace, *ibid.* Retires into the ſervice of the emperor Rhodolph II. 201. His ſickneſs and death, *ibid.* His character, 203.

Tyri, lake in Norway, deſcribed, v. 40.

Tyſenhauſen, count, vice chancellor of Lithuania, his election dinner, i. 234.

Tzar, origin of that appellation given to the ſovereigns of Ruſſia, i. 363. *note.*

Tzaricinoa, villa of the empreſs of Ruſſia, i. 309.

Tzarskoe Zelo, the palace of, near Peterſburgh, deſcribed, ii. 199.

V.

Valdai, the village, and its lake, deſcribed, ii. 62.

Vaſa, order of knighthood in Sweden, the three claſſes of, and on whom conferred, iv. 234, *note.*

Vaſili Ivanovitch obtains poſſeſſion of Smolenſko, i. 256.

Vaſili Galitzin, prime miniſter to the princeſs Sophia, ii. 27.

Vaſilioſſki, the villa of prince Dolgorucki, i. 316.

Vaſſili Shuiski heads the inſurrection againſt Demetrius, i. 325. ii. 13. Elected tzar, 16. His ſcheme to ſpread the opinion that Demetrius was an impoſtor, 17.

Uddevalla, in Sweden, its ſituation and trade deſcribed, iv. 325.

Veils, why generally worn by women in Sweden, iv. 309.

Venda, ſuppoſed tomb of, 130.

Viaſma, in Ruſſia, the harveſt there very early, i. 267. The town deſcribed, 268.

Vicat, Dr. his account of the Plica Polonica, i. 248.

Vickery, a villa belonging to Mr. Anker of Chriſtiania, v. 29.

Vieſnovitskoi, nunnery of, at Moſcow, deſcribed, i. 326. Tombs of the tzarinas, *ibid.* Dreſs, and diet of the nuns, 327.

Vigor, Mrs. her account of the character of the empreſs Anne of Ruſſia, ii. 166.

Villanow, the favourite palace of John Sobieſki, king of Poland, deſcribed, i. 190.

Vilna, univerſity of, i. 208.

Virgin Mary, cathedral of the Aſſumption of, at Moſcow, deſcribed, i. 327. Why many pictures of her are aſcribed to St. Luke, 341. *note*.

Viſhnei Voloſhok, great improvement of this village by enfranchiſement, ii. 60. Canal of, deſcribed, iii. 369.

Viſtula, river, the boundary between the Auſtrian and Poliſh territories, i. 123.

Vitoldus, Alexander, becomes great duke of Lithuania, i. 222.

Ukraine, oxen driven from thence, for the ſupply of Peterſburgh, ii. 66. Ill conſequence of ſubjecting the peaſants there to the poll-tax, iii. 151, *note*.

Ulans. the guards of Staniſlaus Auguſtus, i. 96.

Vlaſief, one of the officers who killed Ivan, on the attempt to releaſe him, made by Mirovitch, iii. 57.

Vlodimir the Great, the firſt prince who introduced literature into Ruſſia, iii. 236.

Ulrica Elenora, queen of Sweden, her conduct on the death of her brother Charles XII. iv. 80. Limitations of the regal prerogative under her, and her huſband Frederic, iv. 93.

Voetſk, gold mine of, the moſt antient in Ruſſia, its produce, iii. 359.

Vola, plain of, where the kings of Poland are elected, i. 83.

Volga, ſource of, i. 275. Deſcription of this river, and the navigation on it, ii. 53. Peculiarity of the boats on this river, ii. 53. The navigation from thence to Tobolſk, iii. 369, *note*.

Volkof river, ii. 85.

Volkof, Feodor, the Garrick of Ruſſia, biographical anecdotes of, iii. 259. Is invited to Peterſburgh, 260. Ennobled by Catherine II. 261.

Volkonſki, great extent of the foreſt of, i. 274. Prince, his account of the czar Peter the Great, 292. His kind hoſpitality, 294.

Volodomir, St. order of, in Ruſſia, when inſtituted, and its claſſes, ii. 138, *note*.

Voltaire, his character of Sophia Alexiefna, ii., 22 *note*. Remarks on his account of Catherine I. ii. 278, *note*. His remarks on the alterations made by the empreſs Elizabeth in the penal laws of Ruſſia, iii. 113, *note*. His remarks examined, *ibid*. Character of his life of Peter the Great, 250. His account of the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, iv. 80.

Veronizof, Elizabeth, miſtreſs of Peter III. iii. 17. Is forgiven by the empreſs, and marries, 40.

Upſala, the ancient metropolis of Sweden, deſcribed, iv. 150. The old palace of, 151. Hiſtory of its biſhops, 155. The cathedral, 156. Sepulchre of Guſtavus Vaſa, 157. His character, *ibid.* Relics in the cathedral, 163. Hiſtory of the univerſity, 165. Regulations of the univerſity, 166. Number of ſtudents, 107. Character of the univerſity, *ibid.* The library, 172. Curious cabinet there, 182. Account of the royal ſociety at Upſala, 185. The botanic garden, 191. Life of the celebrated Linnæus, 192. His arrival at Upſala, 196. He is appointed profeſſor of botany, 205.

Uralian mountains, produce of the Ruſſian iron and copper works there, iii. 365.

Uranienburgh, the reſidence of Tycho Brahe, the Daniſh aſtronomer, in the iſle of Huen, deſcribed, v. 197.

Urtica cannabina, the hemp nettle, deſcribed, and recommended as a ſubſtitute for hemp, ii. 243, *note*.

Urus. See *Biſon*.

W.

Wadſtena, on the lake Wetter, in Sweden, its caſtle and church, iv. 311.

Walker, Mr. of Oxford, his experiments on the congelation of quick-ſilver by cold, ii. 195.

Wallerius, his chemical publications, iv. 221. His death, 225, *note*.

Wargentein, Mr. his account of the Tabell commiſſion in Sweden, and computations from their regiſters, iv. 120.

Warſaw, the city of, deſcribed, i. 156. The king's levee, 157. The palace, 158. Collection of coins, 207. The library, 208.

Weber, the Hanoverian reſident at Peterſburgh Remarks on his account of the early life of Catharine I. of Ruſſia, ii. 277; *note*.

Wenner, lake, in Sweden, its dimenſions, iv. 252. See *Trolhætta*.

Weſteros, in Sweden, account of, and its cathedral, iv. 237.

Wetter, lake, in Sweden, iv. 311. Pretended ſubterraneous communication of its waters with the lake of Conſtance, *ibid.*

Weyde, marſhal, ſuppoſed to have been the executioner of the tzarovitch Alexey, ii. 309.

Wexio, a town in Sweden, account of, iv. 277.

Wiburgh, the capital of Ruſſian Finland, deſcribed, iv. 4.

Wiebitſki, Mr. his hints for extending the trade of Poland, i. 94.

Wietlitska, deſcription of the ſalt mines there, i. 149.

Wiernesk, burgo-maſter of Cracow, his great wealth, i. 109, *note*.

Wiernovitzkoi, a Poliſh noble, protects the tzar Demetrius, ii. 4.

Williams, Sir Charles Hanbury, commencement of his friendſhip with Staniſlaus, afterwards king of Poland. who accompanies him to Ruſſia, 21, *note.*

Willoughby, Sir Hugh, his naval expedition to the northern ſeas, iii. 297.

Wilſe, Mr. his meteorological obſervations on the climate of Norway, v. 9.

Wormius, Olaus, his opinion of the ancient rude circular ranges of ſtones found in Denmark, v. 252, *note.*

Wraxall, Mr. his remark on the frequency of divorces in Poland, i. 106. His account of the ſcarcity of gold and ſilver coin in Sweden, iv. 139, *note.*

Wroughton, Sir Thomas, furniſhes the author with anecdotes on the Revolution of 1762, iii. 44.

Y.

Yamſhics, Ruſſian peaſants, who furniſh poſt-horſes, their rates, privileges, and manners, deſcribed, ii. 73.

Yaroſlaf, account of the theatre there, conducted by Feodor Volkof, iii. 259.

Yenkalé, a port of the Black Sea. Its importance, iii. 345.

Z.

Zaluski, biſhop of Plotſko, his account of the latter end of John Sobieſki, king of Poland, i. 193; and of his queen's behaviour, 198, *note.*

Zamoiski enfranchiſes ſix villages in Maſovia, and the increaſe of population that followed, i. 114. The ſentiments expreſſed by them on the occaſion, 116. His new code of laws, 212.

Zaporogian Coſſacs, hiſtory and manners of, iii. 346. Their military ſtrength, 347. Are reduced by the Ruſſians, 348.

Zarateſh, a Ruſſian village, its accommodation for travellers, i. 267.

Zartoriski, princeſs, her elegant fête champêtre deſcribed, i. 166.

Zartoriski, prince, his ſtyle of living, i. 190.

Zealand, the iſland of, in Denmark, deſcribed, v. 221.

Zinghis Khan, his extenſive conqueſts, iii. 180. Diviſion of his empire after his death, *ibid.*

FINIS.

Luke Hanſard, Printer,
Great Turnſtile, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

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